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HADRIANVS IV. Nicolaus Breskspea=
tre Angl.o creatus die 5. Decemb. an. 1154 Se=
dit an. 4. mens. 8. dies 29. Obyt die 1. Sep=
temb. an. 1159. Vac. Sed. dies 4.

HADRIAN IV. (NICHOLAS BREAKSPEARE).

Elected 3rd December, 1154.
Reigned 4 years, 8 months and 29 days.
Died 1st September, 1159.

(*From a print in the British Museum.*)

Frontispiece.

THE ENGLISH POPE
(ADRIAN IV)

(Hadrianus IV)

BY

EDITH M. ALMEDINGEN

WITH A FOREWORD BY

THE REV. C. C. MARTINDALE, S.J.

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"*Scriptores nostri eum inter*
sanctos numerant."

(TORFAEUS).

To

E. M.

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Foreword

By the Rev. C. C. Martindale, S.J.

TO the expert must be left the duty of examining the details of the strange career set forth in these pages, and even of estimating the value in European history of Nicholas Breakspeare's life.

It is almost worth while *not* to be an expert if we can thereby the better taste certain general astonishments and delights that a record like this one offers to us.

First, that a destitute country-lad reached the topmost pinnacle of international power. And second, that an Englishman became head of the Universal Church.

That Nicholas must have been a boy of quite extraordinary will-power, is clear, and, save by the student of character, need not be insisted on, for, there are always such exceptions, now no less than in the twelfth century. But we may be forgiven if we surmise that a paradox existed then of a most happy sort. Europe was, as we shall insist, far more homogeneous then than it is now ; and yet, there was less conventionality—a most flattening influence ! Men found it less difficult then, I think, to will to be eminent : now, those

who are not terrified by the bare idea of being in anyway "different," do seem to seek rather to be just that "different," even odd, rather than thoroughly *first-rate* no matter how many others may be first-rate too.

But note that here is, as I said, a pauper country-lad, who, fired with the will to learn, and forbidden to find help there where he had the right to expect it, in the local monastery, never dreamed of failure, but said: "I will go to France"! What a sense of the fellowship of nations that implied! And to France he went, and nothing prevented him becoming a student at a French university—not the personal check of poverty (we, who admire the students of the United States who earn by the hardest work their next term's university fees, must give a hundred times that admiration to these mediæval students who were ready to work for, and even beg, coins that they would forthwith spend on oil for their reading-lamp rather than on food): and not any lack of welcome from the authorities. To think that the English beggar-lad almost at once "made friends" with a John of Salisbury! The fellowship of nations was bound the closer by a true brotherhood in knowledge.

From St Denys to Avignon; and then, almost before we have time to grasp what is happening, Nicholas is prior, abbot, monastic reformer, known to the Pope, then bishop and then cardinal! And

in twenty-five years from his first leaving Paris, still a destitute student, he re-enters it, a papal legate. Unnecessary to insist on the happiness of that social system in which a man, if but his character sufficed, could find always his full chance, and in which every position was open to talent and toil, precisely because he was not cheated by the great absurdity of having to "keep" his position "up." In that world completely interknit by Catholic ideals, no one minded how a man was dressed nor how he fared, provided he wanted to find and use the best, and profited by what the Universal Church, and the universal schools she created and developed, were so ready to offer him.

Nor, in a sense, need we wonder that in a world normally trodden to and fro by pilgrims on their way to Rome, the journey from Rome to the North should seem no great difficulty. Hence we think more how useful it was for Nicholas to be sent to Denmark, Sweden, Norway, than that it was strange that he was forthwith sent thither, bringing peace and order where he came. For it was on his return that he ascended the papal throne. And in Rome, Adrian crowns Barbarossa! Shall we be glad that after that almost terrific moment, when the two chief men of Christendom encounter, destiny brought about another meeting that relinked the present to that past from which it might seem to have been irremediably severed? The Abbot of St Alban's, the monastery of Adrian's

boyhood that had been so unhelpful, came on a mission to Rome, and Adrian, true to his love for "the peace of Christ in the kingdom of Christ," as his actual successor has written, gave him the kiss of brotherhood.

It may be that, as we have often heard of late, Englishmen study English history too much from England as world-centre-point, whereas for most of its life it has lain upon the fringe. That may well be true. But I should wonder if, to-day, it were so easy for an Englishman to gain a comprehensive view of Europe and beyond, as it was for Breakspeare. Hismotto was: "Oculi mei semper ad Dominum." He gazed steadily on God, and in consequence sought "first" God's kingdom. He was not *committed* to any partial view or interest. Hence the world at large could be governed on principles that all admitted. The application of those principles might be difficult: men might resist it. But the principles were universal and admitted. The sense of Nationality had not altered into its caricature—the passionate blind nationalisms of our day. Nor had the perception of spiritual unity become its parody, academic internationalism or cynical cosmopolitanism. Because belief in God, and hence, in man's brotherhood, ruled in Europe, the beggar-boy became the Universal Father, and because of him, men in Europe went the nearer to being one great family.

C. C. M.

Introduction

THIS study of the English Pope claims to be no detailed picture of his whole life, and, lest I be accused of undue localising, I hasten to add an explanatory word.

It is sometimes hard to visualise Scandinavia as having once been Catholic. One is almost apt to believe that no gulf lies between the Northern paganism and the post-Reformation ravages, and very little is known of the intervening centuries when the Northern kingdoms were canonically at one with the centre of Christendom.

In this little work I have attempted—however feebly—to throw some light on the Catholic beginnings of the North which are so closely linked with the legateship of Nicholas Breakspeare.

I gladly take this opportunity of expressing my sincerest thanks to the Officials of the Manuscript, Print and Map Departments of the British Museum for their unfailing courtesy and invaluable help, and also to Miss Louise Jacobs, of 45 Great Russell St, W.C. 1, for her patience and skill in preparing my manuscript for publication.

E. M. A.

LONDON, *August* 1925.

I

Beginnings of the Career

England and France

I

BEGINNINGS OF THE CAREER
ENGLAND AND FRANCE

NICHOLAS BREAKSPEARE, the only Englishman who ascended the throne of Peter, was born about the year 1100 and " fetcht " his name from a family resident in a place called Langley, in Hertfordshire, near the famous Abbey of St Alban's.

We find his name spelt in four different ways in English : " Brakspere," " Breakspere," " Brakspeare " and sometimes " Brekspere." The French literally translated it into " Briselance," whilst in the early Latin sources it reads " Hastafragus." A Scandinavian historian calls him " Brekesparrius." [1] Of his parentage and origin we have many statements, but some of them are quite contradictory. Thus, one chronicler says that " Breakspeare comes from noble folk " [2] but on the

[1] Th. Torfæus, " Nicholaum Brekesparrium quem boni titulo Fagurskinna insignit," *Hist. Rer. Norw.*, III, 531. Evidently the Northern tradition, lovingly cherishing the memory of the first legate, preferred a Norse equivalent to the English name.

[2] Matth., Westm., " a viris nobilibus ducens originem," M.G.H., XXVIII, 462.

other hand, one of Breakspeare's best biographers, William of Newburgh, informs us that he (B.) " was raised from the dust in order to sit amidst the princes." [. . . " de quo dicendum est quomodo tanquam de pulvere elevatus est—ud sederet in medio principum et apostolicae teneret solium gloriae."] According to Matthew of Paris, Breakspeare's father was a certain " Robert de Camera, younger brother of the house of Breakspeare," and this most probably accounts for the poverty of Nicholas' family. They were nearly destitute, and the father is said to have entered the Abbey (St Alban's) as a lay brother to earn something for his sustenance. The assertion that Breakspeare's father was a layman is contradicted by William of Newburgh, who calls him " a clerk "—though " of slender means." But, whether he was a cleric in minor orders, or a layman, his connection with St Alban's is absolutely indisputable. We know nothing about Breakspeare's mother beyond the fact that she, too, was " very poor."

When still in his youth Nicholas was thrown on his own resources, which did not enable him to pay for his own schooling, and education was far from being expensive in those days. We know that he used " to frequent the Monastery daily to get his food." Elsewhere we are told that his father had arrived at this arrangement with the abbot. Probably Robert Breakspeare hoped that his son would enter the community some day.

ST. ALBAN'S ABBEY.

(*From a print in the British Museum.*)

Nothing is definitely known about Breakspeare's studies in England. An intimate and frequent intercourse with the learned monks of St Alban's must have inspired him with a true love of knowledge—even though at that time he may have acquired only its rudiments. Certainly he learned his first Latin in England.

But his connection with St Alban's did not last as long as his father may have desired. Breakspeare asked to be received into the community. The abbot took him "on trial," but ultimately rejected the postulant for reasons unknown to us, with the result that the young man "fled from England." Chroniclers disagree about the details of this incident. Matthew of Paris relates how Breakspeare "humbly asked if he might be invested with a monk's hood." The abbot did take him on trial, because he was "of a pleasing countenance and well versed in clerical knowledge." Later, however, if we are to believe this version, Breakspeare was found "unfit for religious life and sent back." There was a bitter quarrel between him and his father, and, resenting the paternal taunts, the youth resolved "to withdraw himself." Robert had evidently begged the abbot to receive his son, and the disappointment must have angered him.

Another biographer (Boso) makes no mention whatever of this unpleasant incident. It may be, of course, that Breakspeare's nephew, though well

aware of its minutest details, did not wish to put them down out of his respect and love for Breakspeare. From his pages we glean nothing more than that Breakspeare simply wanted " to augment his knowledge and persevere in his studies," and therefore he left the country, indicating that in England he enjoyed but few facilities for learning.

Thus Breakspeare went to London. Was it his first visit and did he by any chance foresee his next—on the way to Norway as a Cardinal of the Church and the Pope's Legate ?

Dover had to be reached—and he got there—somehow, either begging or working on the way. He passed through Canterbury and Rochester, and may have stopped to pray, not only to rest, in many a church, for he was a " vir religiosus " (" religious man ") " from his youth up." When he came to Dover, he was not even certain of obtaining a free passage—and he had no money. Was he anxious ? Hardly—for he seems to have pursued a definite purpose ever since he began " studying and praying," and his faith must have told him from the beginning that God meant him to reach the fulfilment of that purpose. Where ? Not at St Alban's—where he humbly accepted the abbot's decision as coming from the lips of God. In France ? Probably—because " something moved him to leave England."

Did he have any definite plans about France ? Most likely just one—that of gaining admission at

some French monastery. As to his desires, they may be given a very brief summary—a life dedicated to Christ—so that " his clerical knowledge " could be used most profitably.

It is a pity that we have no details whatever about his travelling in England. Yet we can still picture him " with his handsome face and bright pleasant eyes," tramping along the road to Dover, his clothes tattered and shabby and his bare feet white with dust, a prayer-book—if he possessed one—clasped in his hand! Most probably he could not afford a night's lodging and murmured his evening prayers under an open friendly sky! And if it were a Friday—he must have fasted with his " usual cheerfulness."

Dover reached—and there was the passage to think of. Did Breakspeare think of it? He could proffer no payment, as we know, and free travelling was not easily procured, even in those days of Christian " largesse." Can we not fancy that an abbot or a priest, on their return journey to France, liked Breakspeare's " pleasing countenance " and defrayed the passage costs? Or, perhaps, the boy's promise of a few fervent prayers may have moved the Captain to an act of charity. However it happened—but cross he did.

It was a turbulent time for France, when Lewis, the Sixth by name and the Fat by nickname, sat on the throne. Travelling meant no small risks—especially to foreigners new to the land, as Break-

speare was, but he, nothing daunted, wended his way towards Paris—that Mecca of all mediæval students.

With the change of country came a change of name. Matthew of Paris tells us that in France he was known as "Nicholaus de Langele, cogn. Brekespere," of Langley—meaning of England! Individual names seem to shrink away. Later still we shall speak of him as the Prior of St Rufus's —the Bishop of Albano—finally—the Pope. His days as "Nicholas Breakspeare" only seem to have finished in France.

He was going to a French university—but did he have any credentials with him? The Abbot of St Alban's would hardly have given him any. Since none are mentioned, we may take it for granted that he carried his usual testimonials— "his polite speech and high intelligence and a pleasing manner towards all people." It is clear that what successes he reaped when studying in France were entirely self-merited—Breakspeare had neither influence nor protection in those days.

He found his way to the great Abbey of St Denys—where lived and worked the no less great Suger—one of the finest Catholic Churchmen at that time, he, who a little later, was called upon to leave his studies and govern the whole of France in the absence of its Crusader King.

At St Denys Breakspeare began the usual hard life of a poor mediæval student—begging by day

and studying by night. Those young men valued knowledge so highly that a little oil for their lamps was reckoned a greater necessity than food and drink. A charitable hostel, in the vicinity of St Denys, must have given shelter to the young neophyte, and once more we are brought face to face with "his attractive personality," when we learn that he made the friendship of no less a person than John of Salisbury. Later we find Breakspeare remembering another Paris friendship of his—a certain Marianus for whom he held a very warm regard. And no doubt there were others, for he had "the knack" of making friends wherever he went.

Records of his Paris studies are still extant, where he is "greatly praised for his diligence and industry." It seems almost as though the dictum of St Alban's Abbot were lacking in justice, for in Paris Breakspeare acquired the reputation of a most painstaking and religious scholar. Was he then so very different when living in England?

Towards the year 1125 Breakspeare left Paris. His reasons for abandoning St Denys are quite unknown. It may be possible that he, continually thinking of religious life, had begged to be admitted into one of the numerous monasteries in or near Paris, and was rejected once more. Again, he may have desired to visit the Southern Universities, to see a little more of the world, for his very soul loved travelling, as was so amply proved in

his later life. William of Newburgh says that his life at St Denys was one of greatest poverty and it may not be unlikely that this made him want a change of surroundings. But Boso, who knew him so well and must have had many a glimpse into his soul, says that he left Paris simply because "the Lord called him and brought it about that he should leave." [1] Whether this be true or not, it is certain that Breakspeare's real life-purpose did not wait for him in Paris. As to the trend of his studies, it was by no means broken by the change. Both students and professors led errant lives in those days, because the majority of them were more or less destitute and had to live by alms, and begging meant wanderings. Moreover, every University had its great men at whose feet most proficient scholars were expected to sit at some time or other in their lives. Students in the Middle Ages formed one vast brotherhood—irrespective of nationalities—English and Italian, French and Bohemian, Spanish and German, Flemish and Polish—all welded together into one body—bound by two things—equally shared by all—thirst for knowledge and faith.

With Paris left behind him, Breakspeare is said to have wandered into the laughing and sunny Provençe. We may take it for granted that his studies in St Denys did strengthen not so much his actual position in the world as his outlook on men

[1] Watterich, *Pont. Rom.* II, 323. "A Domino factum est."

and things. His purse was probably just as lean as when he landed at Calais (or was it Boulogne ?), but his mind was broadened, his views deepened, and he had rubbed shoulders with a few intellectuals well worth knowing.

Again we see him begging his way southwards. Did he think of those big monasteries lying to the south of the Rhône ? Did he pursue knowledge only ? Or did the merry songs of Provençe tempt him to turn his back on the great ideal of his young life—and cast his eyes towards the light-heartedness of earthly pleasures ? Hardly the latter—for of all those things Breakspeare " thought not at all."

He crossed the Rhône and entered into the city of Arles. France was now behind him, absurd as this may sound to us, but in the twelfth century Arles formed part of the German Empire. It was annexed by Conrad II as far back as 1032.

Breakspeare did not linger at Arles. He studied there for a short while, and then set forth again on his wanderings—something seemed to beckon him on.

There is a tradition that before going to Avignon, he visited Montpellier.[1] " . . . ubi dum in scholis vacaret." . . . "In ecclesia beati Jacobi in Melgorio, Magalonensis dioecesis." (" . . . where he studied . . . in the Church of Blessed James in

[1] Watterich speaks of it quite definitely in his *Pont. Rom.* (II, 323).

the diocese of Meggor.") There is nothing to contradict it, and the probability is that Breakspeare may have visited many a town before he came to Avignon. But from the gates of Arles, he took the road " directing to Avignon," where very soon we see him—his earliest desire realised—within the precincts of the Monastery of St Rufus's.

We do not know what were Breakspeare's occupations in Avignon during the period which preceded his entering St Rufus's. The chroniclers seem to know very little. But at the gates of Avignon it may be said that we lose sight of Nicholas Breakspeare—the destitute itinerant scholar—with no roof to shelter him, no bread to call his own. That part of his life—with its hardships so bravely endured, with its glories so thankfully received—is now over. From St Alban's to London, from London to Dover, over the Channel, from Calais to Paris, and from Paris to the South—we have followed him " always trusting, always bold, always diligent and eager for knowledge." Greater and lengthier journeys will be his in the future—but the years of his life-novitiate are finished, as his hand knocks at the gate of St Rufus's and his well-schooled voice humbly utters his request for admission.

II

Abbot and Cardinal

Italy

II

ABBOT AND CARDINAL

THE Monastery of St Rufus's, where Breakspeare ended his early wanderings, belonged to the community of the Canons Regular of St Augustine. This order arose in the eighth century and had its rule finally confirmed by Pope Innocent II at the Lateran Council of 1139. Canonically they occupied an intermediary position between the monks proper and the secular clergy. They derived their name from the rule which was based on the Epistles of St Augustine. Life led by them was strictly cloistral, they had their meals in a common refectory, all wore the same garb and never left the premises unless called to do so in cases of urgent necessity. They divided their duties among the choir—where they chanted the office, the school-room—where they gave religious instruction to the young, and the scriptorium, where the most learned of them compiled chronicles and those, endowed with an artistic sense, illuminated missals. Their habit consisted of a black cassock with a white rochet, and a heavy black

cloak for travelling purposes. For the rest—they grew beards and wore small black skullcaps.

Supreme authority was in the hands of an abbot in whose election each member of the community took part. Admission of postulants was likewise decided by voting.

Such was the monastery to which Breakspeare turned his steps. Boso informs us that he went first of all " towards the Church of Blessed Rufus " —no doubt to pray, according to his wont, and ask God's blessing on his choice.

His request of being admitted as a postulant was granted—as we are told. Probably the abbot foresaw the future teacher in him, or, better still, a chronicler. Breakspeare was coming from Paris, from St Denys—where " dunces were not kept," and doubtless it counted. As to the community—what wonder that they, too, liked him at first sight ?

Yet apparently Breakspeare himself did not put much value either on his studies or on his abilities. Instead, he strove to merit the favour of the community " by every means in his power . . . to ingratiate himself with the brothers, and, being a man of much personal beauty, cheerful in spirit, cautious in speech, and always obedient to the authority, he succeeded in pleasing every one." Thus speaks Boso, and we can well believe him.

Breakspeare's postulancy covered a period of three years. We are not told what his actual

duties were at that time—he may have served at table in the refectory, swept the courtyards, mended the canons' habits—in fact, done anything, for we know that he regarded nothing as humiliating if done unto God's glory, and, moreover, his obedience proved to be exemplary. On the other hand, the abbot may have allotted him duties other than menial tasks—and Breakspeare was sent to the scriptorium to take his part in the slow and laborious copying of manuscripts. Whatever his duties were, he succeeded in all of them, for his biographers speak of his postulancy as a period when he grew " de bono semper in melius."

Breakspeare's winning personality, docile judgment and deep erudition, worked their combined effect on the community. His postulancy over, the canons unanimously voted for his admission into the order, and thus he duly " took the monk's hood,"—[" et religionis habitum, facta canonica professione susciperet."]

The community may have been flattered to have " such a learned brother " in their midst. Breakspeare's popularity seemed to be ever on the increase—for we know that a short time after his profession, the abbot made him prior—" prioratum in ipso domo prius obtinuit." A few years later the superior died, and the brothers thought fit to elect Breakspeare to the abbot's office. " Et post modum ad abbatiae apicem de communi fratrum voluntate conscendit."

The choice was voluntary and spontaneous; little did the canons think how bitterly they would repent of it, for Breakspeare's docility led them to imagine in him the possibilities of a pliable and easy-going superior. In fact, they wanted none other. The twelfth century was not a period when monasticism flourished, as it did in the eighth and thirteenth. St Benedict was dead, and SS. Dominic and Francis were yet to be born. Life in most Italian monasteries was not as it should have been, and, judging from the incidents of Breakspeare's abbotship, St Rufus's was no exception. The rule, if not actually abandoned, was followed but half-heartedly, and certainly the community did not dream of having it re-applied in its primitive severity.

Now Breakspeare, as a student, as a postulant, as a monk, had learned the alphabet of obedience from A to Z. Just because he knew it so well, he was fit to command. It is very probable that he guessed how he would be expected to rule—he knew, too, we may well believe it, that his conscience would not permit him to sanction any encroachment of the rule, even if such a rigid policy were to jeopardise his own position and lessen the brothers' love for him. Thus, as soon as elected, Breakspeare applied himself to root out all laxity in the performance of communal duties. He called the brothers back to the austere practices of the rule, and they did not like it at all

—just because they had not expected it. They began to murmur, first in secret, then openly, but Breakspeare did not seem to notice. They began to remonstrate with him, but the abbot most probably crushed all of their arguments with the invulnerable weapon of logic he could handle so deftly. They did elect him as abbot, did they not? Of their own free will? Well, if so, his duty was to rule them and rule them he would in strictest conformity with the precepts of St Augustine. If they found fault with the rule, why did they stay?

For some time the canons continued murmuring among themselves, but finally their sullen discontent shaped itself into an open revolt. They taunted the abbot with his foreign origin. They told him that he had deceived them by his former lamb-like docility and that they would not stand him much longer. Accordingly they drew up a list of various charges against Breakspeare and deputed a few brothers to go to Rome and lay their complaints at the Pope's feet. They felt sure the Pope would right their grievances and restrain "the foreigner's zeal."

We do not know by what means Breakspeare contrived to hear of what was going on, but he determined to go to Rome and defend himself against the attacks of his unruly children. If Boso were to give us a narrative of this incident (which he has strangely omitted in his biography),

he would surely have added that this "a Domino factum erat," but he simply says that Breakspeare was called to Rome on some business of the Order—"pro incumbentibus ecclesiae sibi commissae negotiis ad Apostolicam sedem veniret."

The Pope at that time was Eugenius III, The Blessed, whom the chroniclers so rightly describe as one "worthy of the highest dignity of the Papacy." He graciously received the deputation from St Rufus's, yet the Cistercian monk in him could not but sympathise with the austere views held by Breakspeare. The latter spoke little in his defence, but what things he did say were calm and dignified, whilst the canons' action sadly lacked in dignity and they uttered their accusations in anything but a calm voice.

It is highly probable that the Pope took a spontaneous interest in the austere and learned abbot. He may have asked him questions about his previous life, and Breakspeare's singleness of purpose could hardly have escaped the Pope's notice. Eugenius III was an infallible judge of human character. He drew his own conclusions from a story of a brave hard life. He may have wondered a little at the decision of St Alban's abbot, certainly, he did not regret it, for he knew Breakspeare was meant for other services.

Meanwhile he had to lend an ear to the grievances of the canons. He was too austere and rigid, this abbot of theirs! He was a foreigner, a rude

POPE EUGENE III. (BERNARD OF PISA).
Who sent Breakspeare to the North.

(*From a print in the British Museum.*)

Facing p. 21.

Englishman, of low birth, probably—what wonder he could not understand some demands of the southern nature . . . And the Pope listened. If he were not so humble, he might have uttered a few words of contempt, for to him no severities were too great if tending to promote God's glory. As it was, he dismissed the monks almost kindly, admonishing them to live in peace with their abbot. Him, too, the Pope sent away—keeping him well in his remembrance.

No doubt, the papal advice did influence the canons. They turned back to St Rufus's, subdued their murmurings and bent their heads under the rigid ruling of the Englishman.

As to the Pope, it would hardly be a mere conjecture to say that during the first interview he had summed up Breakspeare's character—his strong principles, his fearlessness, his cold contempt of shallow compromise. " The rule must be kept —because it is the rule. What else can an abbot do but enforce it ? " The Pope remembered those words, and probably they—all along with other facts—led him to a decision. And we know that Eugenius III is said " to have ever been wise in his decisions."

But the reconciliation, brought about by the Pope, did not last long. Great distances lay between Rome and Avignon. The charm of papal admonitions wore away all too rapidly.

Once more we hear of the community rising in

anger against "the unbearable" Englishman! How bitterly they repented themselves of their thoughtless choice! Yet no shafts of theirs seemed to hurt Breakspeare. He went about his business in his usual calm way. His very calmness irritated the brothers all the more. Finally they thought that the only way of escape lay in Breakspeare's deposition. Surely they would be better guided in their next election! Thus they drew up another still more numerous list of charges against Breakspeare. They had to invent several, for obviously they only existed in their imagination. For a second time they laid their troubles before the Pope. For a second time Breakspeare had to leave the cloister and go out in his defence.

Again Eugenius received the complaints. But this once he is said to have wasted no time in idle admonitions. His well-tried patience gave way. The bewildered canons had not quite expected such a turn of events! So "the despised foreigner found favour even with the Pope!" But why? And the most astonishing thing of all—it was on them that the Pope turned his wrath, telling them that he knew who it was inciting them to such quarrels. Finally he dismissed them in anger, bidding them to go and choose another superior with whom they could live in peace. How the canons must have trembled at such an outburst! Did they realise that they had deserved it? We can only hope that Breakspeare's successor met

with greater submission and reverence on their part! Thus the monks left the papal presence and went back to St. Rufus's. . . .

This second encounter did not take place in Rome—for chronicles date it in the summer of 1146—when the Eternal City was in the hands of Arnold of Brescia, and the Pope lived either in Viterbo or Siena.

What about Breakspeare with his abbotship thus untimely ended? Him the Pope kept near —"cum secum retinuit," and, "having taken counsel," consecrated him as Bishop of Albano. Very soon afterwards he was raised to the cardinalate. It is worth while to notice the brevity of chroniclers relating these facts. We feel that we now come to the real turning-point in Breakspeare's life. It is not the red hat, or the honour, and rank and revenues that seem to matter to him, but simply a greater scope to do big things, to do them well and thoroughly. As a student he tried to do all he could for himself, and thus amassed the greatest possible amount of knowledge. As an abbot he worked unceasingly for what he held to be the good of his community. As a bishop he will care for his diocese. As a cardinal, and later, as a legate, he will truly "become all things to all men."

"Thus Breakspeare, once rejected by Alban's community in England, became Alban's bishop in Italy." This is duly remarked by his biographers.

The time of his elevation to the cardinalate was one of great activities in the Church. Preparations for the second crusade were busily going on in Europe, and Eugenius III wrote his famous letter to Lewis VII of France. Less than a year afterwards (at Easter 1147) the Pope himself went to France to present the King with a pilgrim's staff and wallet. Breakspeare accompanied the Pope on this journey.

Again he was entering Paris which twenty years previously he had left on foot as a poor wandering student with a world of uncertainties before him and one only desire—that of entering a cloister! Twenty years before! And now he was entering it again as a Prince of the Church—in the train of a puissant Pope—entering it to consort with kings and bishops as their equal, to frequent palaces and to assist at solemn functions at the Cathedral! But may we not think that early memories flickered through his mind, as noblemen stooped to pay him homage due to a cardinal? Did he not think of the poor hostel which sheltered him, and the narrow grimy streets which witnessed his night wanderings in search of a crust and a candle? Surely, the fine sense of humour which later was to endear his personality to the North, must have led him to think of these things.

Five more years were to pass, and Breakspeare would again enter the gay city of Paris—this time

surrounded by the large retinue and the fitting pomp of a papal legate.

The Pope having completed his mission in Paris, Breakspeare accompanied him on the return journey to Viterbo, and since then very little is heard of the new cardinal until the eventful year 1152. Doubtless he was busily engaged on the affairs of his diocese under the ever-watchful eye of the Pope. Towards the end of 1151 Breakspeare's name is heard oftener and oftener at the Lateran, and we see his signature attached to all the papal bulls written between December 1151 and February 1152.

Whatever reforms his ever busy and active mind may have contemplated in his diocese of Albano, Breakspeare had had but little time to carry out any of them, for in March 1152 we see him leave Italy on a long perilous journey to the North.

This mission, its purpose and consequences, will fully occupy us until the end of the book. Here we only wish to throw light on the possible reasons for Eugenius' choice of Breakspeare and of no other. What were they? Some assert that his nationality was the main factor—for the Northern peoples possessed many a common link with the English. Others allege that his linguistic abilities, about which more is to be said elsewhere, played an important part in the Pope's decision. Again some hold that politics lay at the bottom of the

whole affair—Breakspeare was an Englishman and his route to Norway lay through England, and the Pope was at the time particularly interested in the English Church. All these reasons may have weighed with Eugenius, but was not Breakspeare's very personality the real decisive factor ? William of Newburgh tells us that the Pope determined to send him to Norway " industriae eius experimentis," (" having proved his diligence [energy] "), and another biographer lays stress on the fact that the Pope was well aware of " his honesty and prudence." There is no doubt that the mission, which we are about to discuss, did demand extraordinary abilities. And if we think of Breakspeare in the terms which Boso applies to his characteristics, may we not think that the Pope's decision was " truly just." [1]

[1] " Erat enim vir valde benignus, mitis ac patiens, . . . in sermone fecundus, . . . in eloquentia politus, . . . praedicator egregius, ad irascendum tardus, ad ignoscendum velox, hilaris dator, in eleemosyniis largus (probably just because he had known such dire poverty) et in omni morum compositione praeclarus." (" He was a good man, gentle and patient, . . . prolific in words, . . . well-versed in eloquence, . . . good preacher, slow to anger, quick to forgive, given to mirth, generous in alms-giving, and shining in all virtues."—Watterich, *Pont. Rom.*, II, 324.

III

Norway in Twelfth Century

III

NORWAY IN TWELFTH CENTURY

OF the three Northern kingdoms, Norway seems ever to have occupied a peculiar, not to say unique, position, which probably took root in its geographical boundaries. In the Middle Ages, when most questions were solved by force of the axe, Norway's right and might became all the more pronounced.

Her political beginnings are to be found as early as in the eighth century, when we find that each leading family of the realm elected a chieftain of its own. These chieftains were invested with a certain amount of authority, and thus chieftainship gradually merged into what we may call a constitutional kingship. Clans were ruled and led to war by those chiefs, but no law, or reform, affecting the whole community, could be validly passed without a communal consent. Therefore the Norwegian Parliaments, or " Things " as they are called in old Norse, came very early into existence. The chief was a nominal head at these assemblies, but the ultimate decision lay with the people.

The idea of a united Norway seems early to have entered the Norwegian history, but the first attempts to bring it about were frustrated, as we learn from the oldest sagas. Even now Norway can be divided geographically into three entirely distinct parts, and in the Middle Ages those natural barriers must have proved a very formidable hindrance indeed. It is only towards the end of the ninth century (872) we find that a certain Erik Blodöxe (The Bloody Axe), probably a more enterprising chieftain than others in his day, united the whole Kingdom of Norway " by the sheer force of his axe "—hence the revolting name attached to him in history. But the unification, brought about by such violent means, was very short-lived, and with Erik's death the kingdom again returned to its system of clan-government.

Soon afterwards, however, the real and lasting union of Norway was achieved by the energetic Halfdan the Black, whose son and successor, Harald Haarfager, could honestly claim to be the first ruler of united Norway. During his reign the Norwegian maritime laws came into definite existence, and even piratical ventures were subject to a certain amount of systematisation. " The King himself travelled much and fought more."

Yet in spite of the fact that King Harald ruled all over Norway, presided over the National " Thing " as *the* Sovereign and issued laws in accordance with the will of the whole nation, it

cannot be asserted that Norway was really united internally. The national " Thing," assembled at Vestfold (modern Jarlsberg) did not do away with the lesser " Things " of the clans, and the feelings of prejudiced clannish preference often interfered with the important issues of the great National Assembly. Only much later (in the tenth century) do these clouds vanish from the political horizons of Norway. Probably one of the reasons which accelerated their disappearance was the nation's love for the royal family—Erik the Blodöxe was traditionally descended from the god Frey. Of course, the ultimate factor in Norway's unification was its conversion to Christianity, but of this later.

If we want to form an accurate picture of mediæval Norway, we must follow them in their travellings all over the world. For " a Northman's work could be but very poorly appreciated in Norway." To us this may sound as a shallow paradox. To the mediæval North it was a startling reality. The Northmen knew more about the world than anyone else in their time. Perhaps because of their wanderings they never seemed to have time to learn things about their own land, much as they loved it. Yet their history came so to be shaped that their victory fields were on the waters, and a boat's deck was dearer to them than any warmly-lit hall on land. To a great many of them the sea was a mother and father and wife. They would scorn a grave in the damp earth, and

their best-loved deity could be most appropriately worshipped in a storm.

Legends date the Norwegian maritime enterprises as far back as the fifth and sixth centuries. Historically they came to be known, and feared in the West, towards the end of the seventh and all through the eighth centuries. At first these expeditions were undertaken solely for piratical purposes, but gradually their voyages to Constantinople taught them to appreciate the advantages of trade, and they learned to exchange their peerless knowledge of shipbuilding craft for the oriental silk tissues and many other expensive luxuries of the East.

But the eighth century, when the Norwegians touched France and Italy and Palestine, did not quite shatter their pagan religion, for they remained loyal to its principles for another hundred years.

It was a strange weird religion, born and shaped in the wild tumult of storms and cherished in the sullen darkness of Norwegian forests. It had its peculiar undercurrents of queer inexplicable mysticism which found a concrete expression in the austerity of their daily lives. They believed in the Great Hereafter and that so intensely that they would set but little value on the earthly existence and scorned the very idea of fearing death. Pagans they were, but never idolaters. They listened to the reproaches of an angered deity in the roar of a storm and would people their woods

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and fjords with invisible beings, but under all their beliefs lay hidden a subtle yearning for the Being Supreme, the One Great Spirit, whose presence they seemed to guess alike at sea and on the shore, in the forest and in the field, in a fjord or on a moor. Their creed was one of extreme sternness—their native surroundings would hardly admit of any softening elements, whilst the sea was always near to remind them that " all things perish, going down into the deep."

Christianity came to the North as late as in the tenth century, and even then its coming was but slow and gradual. It is impossible to register a definite date of the spontaneous conversion of Norway. Iceland, Greenland and other islands in the North Sea had received the faith much earlier, but Norway was the last of the three kingdoms to enter the Church.

Olaf I—the great-grandson of Harald, was the first pioneer of Christianity in Norway, but at the beginning he met with a very indifferent success, for the rough seafarers—on hearing the message of Christ—thought that " these things were fit for tender women and ignorant children." Certainly, the conversion problem was made all the more difficult by the stubborn opposition on the part of the pagan priests who pronounced fierce maledictions on all maritime undertakings " blessed by the sign of that strange Cross." Again, the campaign, directed against the Northern paganism,

was hard because of the subtle unattackable form the heathen religion had assumed in Norway. The Northmen, as was said above, kept no idol shrines in their severe temples, and the dramatic act of smashing idols was thus denied to the missionaries. Instead they had to combat against the deeply-ingrafted beliefs—intertwined with every aspect of individual and communal life, whilst an inconsiderate attack on the latter might easily have endangered the whole of missionary work.

The very geographical situation of Norway spelt considerable difficulties for missionaries. It was much easier for both Sweden and Denmark to communicate with the Continent than it was for Norway—cut off, as it stood, by a sea which became proverbial for its continuous roughness. Denmark was in a particularly favourable position, because its proximity to Germany gave it the advantage of receiving Christianity from the neighbouring bishops. Norway, during the tenth century, was more often than not in the state of war with Sweden and Denmark, hence all missionaries had to come by sea, and the Norwegians, who were the only nation with a big navy, did not always choose to lend their boats for "the foreign clerics."

It is commonly believed that the very first missionaries who came to Norway were some monks from Germany, but we do not know whether they were German or Anglo-Saxon or

Irish by nationality. One tradition says that these monks "went further northwards, having first accomplished a brilliant conversion of Denmark." If it be true, then those monks must have met with no success in Norway, for Denmark's conversion dates as far back as the second half of the ninth century (see Chap. V), *i.e.*, at a time when the whole of Norway was pagan. Whether a fresh batch of German missionaries visited Norway in the tenth century is rather uncertain, for chroniclers differ. But it is definitely known that the infant Danish Church did influence Norway, and that later Anglo-Saxon and Irish missionaries took their share in the big work. All along with these, Norway became well acquainted with another current of Christian influence,—then already apposite to the western eye and mind. The Northmen of the tenth century were well-known in the East, and Constantinople—on the eve of the Schism—was anything but orthodox to the Catholic West. Probably the greatest influences which came to bear on the spiritual life of Norway, came from the North of Britain.

But the actual conversion of this land—taken in its technical sense—was brought about by its first Christian Kings, Olaf I and Olaf II (the Saint). Neither of them had any scruples as to the choice of means, and it is recorded that pagan blood flowed freely. Great statesmen both, the two Kings saw clearly that if their country was to

enter the great world-family, it had to abandon paganism and to embrace Christianity, and they literally forced the latter into the national life. Their personal convictions were doubtless absolutely sincere, but they did not seem to demand an equal sincerity from their people. The royal measures did prove salutary in the end, but, with their inherent fierceness, neither Olaf I nor Olaf II showed any mercy towards the stubborn and the recalcitrant, and the battle against paganism was fought by the sword and the axe.

This fact partially explains the later royal usurpation of ecclesiastical matters—an abuse Cardinal Breakspeare was so eager to amend. The royal patronage left the Church more or less a debtor in the hands of the kings. It is easier to understand the later infringement in the Norwegian Canon Law when we remember that—with regard to this point, Breakspeare's reforms came to be most beneficial even though some of them proved mere palliatives, but up to the twelfth century it was quite a common occurrence in Norway that laymen, appointed by the king, should sit in judgment on clerics. Sometimes ecclesiastics would duly protest, but murmurings of this sort could always be hushed by a well-aimed blow of the axe.

This state of unwanted dependency was greatly accentuated by the fact that no tithes were imposed in Norway up to the year 1100, and clergy had literally to beg for their very livelihood. Adam of

Bremen, commenting on this, rather unjustly calls them "avaricious," but Breakspeare's reforms reveal to us that the struggle of Norwegian priests must have been an exceptionally hard one.

In spite of their slow and laborious conversion, the Norwegians at once took to the Christian Faith in all earnestness. Very soon their Church was to have two saints of her own—one, St Olaf—of whom mention was made above—and whom the North considered a saint some time before his official canonisation. The other man, whose prayers doubtless carried the people of Norway through many a spiritual struggle—was Bishop Thorwaldr — friend of Olaf I and Apostle of Iceland. His commemoration was entered into the Norwegian Canon Law as a day of obligation.

Before we go any further with our narrative of the Norwegian Church, the great work of "the Olafs" must be explained a little more fully. It will be imagined, perhaps, that were it not for the strokes of the royal axe, the people of Norway would have remained pagans much longer. Partly this is true, partly it is not. For a Northman of the tenth century was not quite ignorant of Christianity—even though he chose to remain in his own religion. His travellings carried him so far as the Holy Land, and he knew the story of Christ. It need not be an impossibility that to the clearest-minded Northmen the tale of Bethlehem and Golgotha may have appeared as linked to

their own mysterious unfathomable yearnings for the Great Supreme Spirit. If this were so—and who is there to tell us that it was not so ?—we can easily understand why the Christian spirit, once embraced in the North, made such an astoundingly rapid progress and why, as early as the twelfth century, monasteries and convents were scattered all over Norway and Sweden, to say nothing of Denmark.

Now the eleventh century was the time of great spiritual stirrings in Europe. It is impossible to believe that the Crusade movement could have passed unnoticed in the North, and yet at the first sight it would almost seem so, for the Northmen were actually absent from the first Crusade ; and their name is not once mentioned in any chronicles.

Hypothetically it may be assumed that it was thought fit to release their crusading potentialities in the lands lying nearest to them, *i.e.*, Finland and the Baltic coast and the extreme North of Sweden. Again, they had not as yet finished the combat against paganism in their own land. Be that as it may, there is no documentary evidence to prove that the Northmen had been kept out of the Crusade movement on purpose, because Crusades were preached by the Pope and Norway had no part in the affairs of the Latin Church. This assertion does not bear the light of historical investigation. We shall see it presently when we come to their Roman pilgrimages.

The pagan North took its cognisance of Italy, because it was a fine land to rob and to pillage. The Christian Norway did not long remain ignorant of Rome as the centre of Christendom. In the earlier times they would leave their home-land bent on piratical ventures alone. Towards the end of the eleventh century the people of Norway seem to have fully entered into the spirit of pilgrimage. Pilgrims would be absent so long, that certain laws had to be passed, protecting their property during their absence on pious pilgrimages. The absentee was given the right to appoint some friend or relation "to take his place in the National Assembly," as we read in the *Gulathings Log*. The longer the pilgrimage, the more joyous he felt. Distance was no menace to a Northman. They seem very early to excel in the organisation of those pilgrimages. Their rules and regulations are admirably definite and always to the point. The way and manner of departure are explained to the minutest details. Also we see that passports (probably used by local bishops) were needed to go through doubtfully friendly countries. In principle, a pilgrim's safety was sacrosanct, but the Norwegian law saw to it that it was likewise protected by parchment scrolls and red seals. The more important among the pilgrims would be given special introductions to the bishops of France and Italy.

Towards the end of the eleventh century the

Northmen began to realise the worth of expiatory pilgrimages. A law says that a murderer (obviously ordered to make penance), who had made the vow of an expiatory pilgrimage, is granted "eight days' peace before his departure and as much on his return." [1] The Norwegian legislation even went the length of authorising beggary "for such pious purposes." No pilgrim was to be detained in custody if detected begging for the means to start on his pilgrimage, if he had made a vow. Sometimes regular collections were sanctioned, and this was called "pilgrims' bread" —or "Pilágrims-braud."

The majority of pilgrims either to Holy Land or to Rome or to Spain (the shrine of San Jago di Compostella) went by land. Only the rich were in a position to equip a boat and go by water. Hospices were erected to give shelter to the poor pilgrims. No doubt those with means did give alms for hospitality received, but no payment was strictly required. There were a few hospices in Italy specially founded for the use of the Northmen. Thus Erik the Good (1099) erected free hospices in Lucca and near the Borgo S. Domino, for the benefit of those "who speak the tongue of the Norse," and there hospitality was also given just as freely to the Scottish and English pilgrims. When traversing the Alps, no pilgrim of any nationality was ever rejected at the welcome-

[1] See *Gutalag*, XIII, Ed. Säve, p. 8.

breathing gates of Mont Cenis, whilst in Rome, as an old chronicle tells us, Canute the Great, at the end of his own pilgrimage, founded (in 1027) a hospice for the Danes " af danskri tungu " (" of the Danish tongue "). The Northern pilgrims were exempt from all taxes, if we are to believe William of Malmesbury.

Their journeyings to Rome covered usually one year, and the Northmen were generally anxious to fix their departures for the spring months, when the ferocious North Sea somewhat abated its wrath. The Norwegians were known to travel by three separate routes. The most ancient of them was the so-called " Austrvegr "—the way of the East—known best to the Norwegians and shunned by the Danes.

Their point of departure was generally the town of Visby on the Isle of Gothland—the Eye of the Baltic " Eystras-alts-Auga "—later so famous for its magnificent Church of St Olaf, erected with the pilgrims' pennies. From Gothland they would direct their boats to the North Baltic Lakes, and reach the Black Sea—going down along the big rivers of the modern Russia. They would reach Constantinople by Bosphorus—and there some of the pilgrims would end their journey. We know that the bodyguard of the Byzantine Emperors consisted entirely of the Northmen—" the Varengos " as Anna Comnen calls them. Near to Constantinople was a place called " Coso "—" where

met the roads to Rome, Jerusalem and Constantinople."

They had another route to the South-west. It was, perhaps, more frequented by the pagan Northern pirates than by the Christian Norwegian pilgrims. Its name was Vestvegr, *i.e.*, the way of the West. It led from the coasts of Norway to the shores of Africa and the Northmen loved to boast that their feet never touched land throughout the voyage. Following this route they came and threatened the walls of Narbonne in A.D. 788 and again in 820 their fleets ravaged the Mediterranean coast of France. Also going by this Vestvegr in 860 the Northmen passed the Adriatic and attacked Constantinople.

The more wealthy among the Norwegian Christians made use of this route for their pilgrimages, but these were few, since the expenses of equipping boats were too heavy.

Their gradual acceptance of the true spirit of pilgrimage made them feel the want of another route—less dangerous and expensive than the Western way, less commercial than the Eastern. Accordingly, at the end of the eleventh century the North began to use a third route which is best known in history as "Romávegr"—the way to Rome.

The Northern pagan excursions to Holy Land were mainly inspired by acquisitiveness and curiosity. Also the sun of Palestine ever seemed

to draw them away from the gloomy sunless North. But the longing of the Christian North for Holy Land very early assumes a definitely penitential aspect, and St Peter's blessing is soon considered as one of the essentials for a grace-bringing pilgrimage. Hence the origin of the third route.

" Romávegr " led them through Denmark into the sullen forests of Germany, and from thence, over the Alps, into the laughing valleys of Italy. It was slow, tedious, hard, and fraught with dangers common to all travellings in those ages. Moreover—to the Norwegians—this was truly a way of penance—because they, " who were but little good on land, sighed continuously for the sea."

An interesting itinerary of this route is left us by a Norwegian Benedictine, a certain Nicholas Saemudarsson, who visited Rome in 1151 (Breakspeare is sure to have known him), and who was careful to note every stage of the journey.

From Jutland (in Denmark) pilgrims wended their way to Mayence, then to Utrecht, Cologne, Basle, Strassbourg, Soleure (at this point some pilgrims were wont to go and pay a visit to the famous monastery of Reichenau), then on to Vevey and Montjoux, and, the Alps crossed—Italy.

Nicholas makes a particular mention of St Maurice which he calls " Mauriciousborg "—where " the martyr is buried together with his entire army—six thousand six hundred and sixty-six

warriors," and he also speaks of St Bernard where they "saw the snow on St Olaf's day." Siena attracted them by "its most beautiful women in Italy." Finally Sutrium would be reached, from where one could see Rome at a distance of four miles—with its palaces and its churches—nobody knows their number—the most beautiful that of All Hallows—"Allra Heilagra Kirkju"! and here Nicholas, probably in a reminiscent mood, adds—"like the Holy Sepulchre."

IV

Sweden and Denmark in the Twelfth Century

IV

SWEDEN AND DENMARK IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

OF these two countries in the Middle Ages the position of pre-eminence indisputably belonged to Denmark. In fact, the Danish Church affairs were then far more advanced than the Norwegian.

Politically, Denmark became a united kingdom about the same time as Norway, *i.e.*, towards the end of the tenth century, and, within the short space of fifty years 991–1042, it had had such illustrious kings as Sweyn Tuguskeggr, Canute the Great and Hardacanute, whose names are no mere sounds in our own history. The system of Danish government was externally similar to that of Norway, but the comparison ended there. The royal power, or rather, tyranny, was felt here far more forcibly than elsewhere in the North. Even the Danish "Things," or Parliaments, were not entirely popular assemblies, because the ultimate decision rested with the King alone. People's will was consulted in a small degree, but its interests were looked after better than in Sweden,

where the national arbitration reigned supreme. The continental position of Denmark made it imperative that the Danes should have a strong army and well-fortified boundaries. Their fleets, however, were considerably inferior to those of the Norwegians. Their army was reckoned to be the strongest in the North, and all through the tenth and eleventh centuries we find the Danes incessantly warring with the Prussians, ravaging the Baltic Coast and alternately annoying, if not actually attacking, Sweden and Norway. Danish history of that period is one of an unbroken prosperity both in war and in trade, and, therefore, appears to be the least interesting of the three.

If we now look at Sweden, we shall see that it was the weakest realm in mediæval Scandinavia. It had no army to speak of—its only naval base was the port Skagerrack—constantly threatened and attacked by the Norwegians, whilst some of the Northern inhabitants of Sweden were actually under the yoke of Norway. The greatest misfortune of Sweden lay in its interior divisions. In the North lived the Swedes proper, the so-called Suiars, whilst the South was peopled by the fierce and ever-quarrelling Gothlanders. At the very beginning of Swedish history each nation had its own king, but tribal and national differences and jealousies made themselves keenly felt at every possible and impossible occasion, so that civil war became their *modus vivendi*. In consequence,

Sweden made but very little progress either in politics or in religion. Paganism of the Swedes was far stronger than that of the Norwegians and the Danes. Chief priests were wont to take advantage of the national troubles and practically ruled the people. Nominally Sweden did acknowledge (in the eleventh century) the authority of King Swerker—who was a Swede himself, but, as could be well expected, the Gothlanders would have none of him, and preferred—though also nominally—the authority of a Gothlandic ruler.

The main heathen sanctuary of Sweden was at Upsala—with its celebrated temple of Odin—which precincts were held as sacrosanct. Sweden cared for its pagan religion, but had neither love nor respect for its wild pagan kings, and thus from the tenth right until the twelfth century the annals are mere lists of their successive victories and defeats—one king over the other.

Thus we see that politically Denmark could well be considered as the strongest of the three.

The beginnings of Christianity in Denmark are to be looked for in Germany. It was the first Northern kingdom to be converted. Chronicles give the date "A.D. 826," when "Harald, King of the Danes, was baptized and his wife with him and a great many Danes" [Haraldus, Rex Danorum, baptizatus est, cum uxore et multis Danis,"] and a year later we are told that "Sanctus Ansgarius evangelisavit gentem Danorum" ("Saint Ans-

garius converted the people of Denmark"). In another chronicle we come across the name of the bishop who had baptized "the King of the Danes" (Harald)—it was Bishop Reimbertus, the second Bishop of Bremen, and to him is attributed the foundation of the Danish Church. But here we are told that the very same bishop went on to Sweden and "baptized the King of the Swedes" and also so holy was he (the bishop) that "totum regnum eius" (*i.e.*, of the Swedish King), "in fide Christi solidavit" ("his, the King of Sweden's, whole kingdom strengthened in Christ's faith.")[1] This statement cannot, however, be taken literally, for, with all respect to the reverend chronicler, we know that paganism did linger in Sweden a considerable time after the conversion of the King and a few nobles, and in the ninth century, at the time of Denmark's conversion, Sweden was almost entirely pagan from the north to the south. Much later (in 1168) we read how Waldemar I of Denmark "invaded many heathen temples in Sweden and destroyed them by fire and sword," notably among them the celebrated sanctuary of Odin at Upsala.

The Danish Church was the first to be established in the North, and it is very probable that the relative rapidity of Denmark's conversion was due to its continental position. Its conversion was received most enthusiastically in the West, and Adam, the famous chronicler of Bremen, has left us a

[1] Langebec, *Rer. Danic.*, I, 367.

quaint narrative from his prolific pen. He ardently speaks of the power of God which brought about that " the most ferocious people of Denmark . . . (ecce illa ferocissima Danorum . . . natio), who, according to the word of Blessed Gregory, knew nothing except barbarism [quae, iuxta beati Gregorii verba, nihil autem scivit nisi barbarum frendere] has now learned to sing alleluias in God's praise [iamdudum novit in Dei laudibus alleluias resonare]." And he goes on, " Behold this nation of pirates who devastated whole regions in Gaul and Germany [Ecce populus ille piraticus, a quo totans olim Galiarum et Germaniae provinciae legimus depopulatas], is now content to remain in its own dominions " [suis nunc finibus contentus est] saying with the apostle " non habentes manentem hic civitatem, sed futuram inquirimus et credimus videre bona Domini in terra viventium " (" we have no lasting city here, but seek the one to come, and hope to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living "). " Behold this terrible land, hitherto inaccessible because of its idolatrous cult (Adam is mistaken here) . . . admits the preachers of truth and erects the Churches of Christ."

Whether the conversion of Denmark was so spontaneous and rapid as Adam wants us to believe, it was unmistakably a wondrous work on the part of German missionaries, for the Danes were just as fierce, if not more so, as the Norwegians.

The first bishops of Denmark came from Bremen. Lindebruch in his *Hist. Arch. Brem.*,[1] says that it was Adaldagus, an Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, who "primo ordinavit Episcopos in Daniam" ("was first to ordain bishops in Denmark")—there were three of them—"ad Slesewig, ad Ripam et ad Arhusam" but it seems as if with the ordination of these first Danish bishops "Christianitas in Dania turbata est" ("Christianity was disturbed in Denmark"). Evidently the pagan priests had stirred the people up and there were disturbances, so that a certain Libent III, also Archbishop of Bremen (at the time of Pope John XIX) had "to bring peace to Knut—King of the Danes." The same archbishop is said to have consecrated the first Bishop of Sweden, by name of Sifrid, and one of the Norwegian bishops "Rudolph à Nordmannia," but most of the early Danish bishops were Germans and they built the first Danish Church at Heidaby, about the year A.D. 850. We can almost conjecture that at the beginning of the Crusade movement, paganism was all gone out of Denmark. Certainly the kings used their utmost authority to extinguish its last traces, and most of the Danish bishops seem to have been princes of the royal house. Again, the clergy in Denmark were much more independent financially than their Norwegian brethren, and this could not but strengthen their position.

[1] Ed. 1592, p. 12.

Denmark became especially linked to Rome after the famous pilgrimage made there by one of its kings—Knut—in 1027. The number of individual Danish pilgrims was steadily on the increase all through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and it was with the approval from the Lateran that the Danish missionaries went to work in Iceland in 1056.

With regard to the Christianisation of Sweden, it is surmised that the very first seeds of the Faith were sown there by a few scattered missionaries from England somewhere between the ninth and tenth centuries. No traces of their work can be detected, however, and Sweden was almost entirely pagan when the Danes received their baptism. Christianity penetrated into Sweden very slowly, but towards the end of the eleventh century the Regulars of St Benedict began their work there, and, curiously enough, Sweden, the most backward of the three in all matters of faith, seems to have been more fortunate than either Norway or Denmark in the fostering of monastic life. Sweden became a definitely Christian country but in the twelfth century, and at the time of Breakspeare's visit, the Odin sanctuary at Upsala was not yet pulled down.

The first Danish bishops seem to have been consecrated about the year 862, and their names are also given under that date: "Adaldagus . . . Brem. Archiepiscopus . . . ordinavit tres episcopos

in Daniam. . . . Horedum . . . Liafdagum et Rehinbrandum" ("Adaldagus . . . Archbishop of Bremen . . . ordained three Bishops for Denmark. . . . Hored, Liafdag and Rehinbrand.") The earliest episcopal sees of Denmark were those of Lund and Roeskild.

Yet the saintly Bishop Thorwaldr — the first preacher of Christ in the North—and those pious and learned German monks evidently were not able to leave behind them a Church sufficiently well organised to be under the jurisdiction of its own bishops. Therefore, Pope Gregory IV decreed that the three infant Churches of Scandinavia were to be subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. Such an arrangement was entirely logical, since from Bremen came the first missionaries into Denmark, and Bremen was the nearest archdiocese, whilst none of the three Northern Churches were sufficiently strong to govern themselves. Such a decree, however, was not palatable to the proud Northmen. They said nothing when it was promulgated, and all the Northern bishops hastened to submit themselves to the archiepiscopal authority at Bremen, but they did not like it. Their national pride was hurt, and they had not as yet learned the difficult art of humbling it. The kings of Norway resented it most of all. The Danes did not mind when the German bishops consecrated their own priests for work in Denmark, like, for instance, Bishop

Bozelin who " ordinavit capellanis suis . . . Daniam " (Bishop Bozelin " ordained his chaplains in Denmark "), but the Hamburg-Bremen arrangement was something entirely different, and they realised the difference, and hated it. Subject to a foreigner ! They—Danes, Norwegians, Swedes—" the freest of the free ! " Yet it is all the more characteristic of their attitude to the Church discipline (which they grasped very quickly) that none of them rose in open revolt no matter how their national feelings smarted. They would forward protests to Rome from time to time, but those were not couched in a language of bitter resent. Denmark's repeated requests for a separate archbishopric led Pope Paschal II (early in the twelfth century) to consider the matter, with the result that the Danish Church was given its own metropolitan, whose seat was to be at Lund. It was only just that precedence had to be given to Denmark, for hers was the oldest Church of the three, but when Norway and Sweden learned that their bishops were now to be subject to the Danish Archbishop of Lund, they were in no way satisfied. To them a Dane was just as much a foreigner as a German. If anything, conditions became worse for both Sweden and Norway, since the Archbishop of Lund was invested with the authority of the Primate of the whole North. Norway and Sweden began besieging Lateran with their requests for two separate metropolitans. Norway was par-

ticularly anxious to have its request granted. There ran a legend in the North about Sigurd Magnusson—one of the most famous Kings of Norway—the Jerusalem Traveller, as they called him. It was said that he, whilst living in Holy Land, had given a solemn promise to help promote the establishment of a Norwegian archbishopric. The North had not forgotten the legend and spoke of it in its petitions to the Pope.

Finally, a joint mission of Norwegian and Swedish clergy was dispatched to Italy. Very probably, the Benedictine Nicholas Saemudarsson went with it. They reached Rome just a year before Breakspeare was made cardinal. Pope Eugenius III received them kindly and listened to them with a great patience. The Pope was interested in the North. He told the Norwegians that he would think the matter over—quietly and prayerfully. They must have left Rome considerably cheered up. And the Pope thought. He could not go himself to the North, and it was evident that a papal ambassador was urgently needed to ascertain the real position of the two Churches of Norway and Sweden and to carry out such reforms the postponement of which might easily lead to dangerous developments.

And the Pope bethought himself of the one man he knew best fitted to undertake this extremely difficult and delicate task, and thus was Nicholas Breakspeare sent to the unknown and remote North.

V

The Legateship

V

THE LEGATESHIP

AS we have just seen, the discontented Norwegian and Swedish clerics sent an embassy to Rome for the purpose of obtaining separate metropolitans. Doubtless it was on the strength of their request that the Pope finally decided to send Breakspeare as his legate to the North. Yet it must not be supposed that the so-called Northern question first came to be raised in Rome in the twelfth century. Even since the German and Anglo-Saxon missionaries had penetrated into Scandinavia, the affairs of the Northern Churches had occupied the Lateran. There exists interesting correspondence between Pope Gregory VII and the Kings of Norway and Sweden.[1] It is evident that the kings had begged the Pope to send them priests fitted to cope with the missionary problems of the North. Gregory answered that he would willingly do so, but the plan seemed (to him) unrealisable, on account of the distance. Furthermore, the Pope feared that men sent from

[1] See *Diplom. Norw.*, *Unger*, VI, I, A.D. 1078.

Italy would not be able to make themselves understood in the Norse tongue. Yet the Pope had another suggestion to make, which he considered far more plausible. He wrote that it were better to send young Northmen to Rome, there to equip them with sound theological knowledge, so that they would in due time return to the North "non quasi ignoti, sed cognati" ("not ignorant, but learned.") In a further letter to King Olaf Kyrri (The Quiet), the Pope unfolded in more detail his scheme of a "Collegium Norwegicum"—but, unfortunately, this plan of Gregory's never came to any fruition.

Breyer, one of the best authorities on the subject, thinks it was the natural sequence of events that the repeated Northern requests for the canonical regulation of their Church affairs should have moved Eugenius III to decide on the necessity of a speedy legateship. Torfaeus fitly sums up the great need of the Norwegian Church, when he says that ". . . ad recognoscendum statum ecclesiasticum formandumque"—did the Pope send his ambassador. Evidently the establishment of metropolitan sees could not be postponed much longer, whilst a papal legate alone could fully inquire into the real condition of things.

Therefore, the legateship did not come as it were "like a thunderbolt from the blue." There was no suddenness about it, certainly no unseemly haste. It would be futile to imagine that Break-

speare, " risen to his rank in the twinkling of an eye," was sent to the North simply because the Pope " yearned " to give him sufficient scope for his great abilities, and there was no congenial work for him in Italy. The legateship was in nowise invented for Breakspeare. He went because the North happened to be in real need of a legate, and he was chosen because the Pope wisely thought he was the fittest man for the purpose. Yet, if there were no Breakspeare, there is little doubt but that a legate would have been sent Northwards just the same. It is true that Eugenius III did single Breakspeare out because of his abilities, but, on the other hand, the Pope's very nature rebelled against any expression of favouritism. The legateship came as no covetable preferment, but rather as a severe test.

In order to carry out the proposed reforms, Breakspeare left Rome with full legatine powers " cum plenitudine potestatis dixerit legatum "— as William of Newburgh tells us, and he adds that these powers were used most wisely, " quot ille officio in barbaris nationibus per annos aliquot sapienter et strenue administrato."

The mission was full of " unimaginable " hardships. The distances to traverse alone might have frightened one of lesser courage than Breakspeare's. To the mediæval West all lands of the North stood veiled in the thick darkness of terrible un-

certainties. They were verily " terrae incognitae," and their forests and rivers seemed utterly unexplorable to an average traveller. Moreover, the West firmly believed that those dark and cold regions were peopled by a " gens ferocissima Dacorum et Norrensium " (" most ferocious people of Danes and Northmen "), as Adam of Bremen, who lived so near to them, called them, and as William of Newburgh repeated in full faith. Then again, with all distances behind, and all dangers overcome, and all frosts endured, there ever remained the uncertainty of landing. The people of Norway and Sweden had clamoured for national metropolitans, and instead the Pope was sending them a legate with full authority " to reform, to arbitrate, to command." Though no real alien to their race, still Breakspeare was no Northman. What reception then were they going to accord him ? And, even though he succeeded in carrying out the projected reforms in Norway, what about the Church in Denmark ? Surely it was but natural that the Archbishop of Lund should resent the Northern primacy being taken away from him. Would it not therefore require the consummate perfection of diplomatic art to avoid all friction and to exercise fullest Christian charity, as a papal legate was undoubtedly expected to do ? But the difficulties of the mission did not end there. Perhaps the greatest of all hardships lay in that Christianity came to the North almost literally at

the royal bidding, and from the very beginning the Northern kings shed blood and spent money to support its growth. Thus gradually this royal alliance to the infant Church became detrimental to the ecclesiastical rights. The Church affairs seemed very largely to depend on the decisions of secular authorities, whilst Breakspeare was sent by the Pope in order that " qui primarius legationis scopus, quicquid circa sacra emendationem requirere videbatur, ad Pontificiae institutionis norman reduxit " (" the first object of the mission was that whatever seemed to require improvement in the sacred matters—he reduced to the standard of pontifical ordinances "),[1] and the latter admitted of no secular interference in its legislation. How was the North going to accept this ?

The very importance of the mission increased rather than lessened its hardships. We should not forget that Breakspeare was coming to the North as the very first papal representative. From his conduct, his actions, his very words, the North was to draw vital conclusions. They delighted in his personality, and loved it, yet as no mere individual was he coming to them—rather as a fully authorised representative of Christ's vicar. He was to regulate their Church affairs, his decisions were to be final—subject to the approval of the Holy See. If he were to fail in anything, the consequences might well be disastrous for the

[1] Torfaeus, *Hist.*, ed. 1711, III, 531.

Church's future in the North, since the Norwegian people were still very ignorant in many things, whilst the legate's actions would become their criterion of right-doing. And they were well aware, as Saxo says, that he was coming "immunitate concessa, maximi pontificatus titulis insignivit."

Yet in spite of all its innumerable hardships, Breakspeare's mission could not be avoided, such a big crying necessity it was. The Lateran knew that the question of the Northern metropolitans *had* to be solved, and that wisely *and* quickly. It was equally well known that canonical legislation in the North was badly in want of drastic reforms. Again a different theory may be held with regard to the actual necessity of the mission.

It should be borne in mind that just one hundred years previously (A.D. 1054) the Eastern Church had broken away from the Catholic Union. Now the Northmen were world-famous for their travellings, and the East was no *terra incognita* to them. They plied a busy trade with the merchants of Constantinople, and Greek influences, though dim and flickering, are not unknown in the Northern history. Constantinople of the twelfth century was a veritable hotbed of angry controversy and bitter polemics. Rome was denounced as a city of Satan and the Pope as the antichrist himself. It may be urged that the Northern merchants did

not mingle in the intellectual circles, and had, therefore, but few occasions for theological discussions, but in Constantinople there was no need to go among the intellectuals for this purpose. Every cobbler had a smattering of theology, which he loved to air, and the slummier the street, the bitterer grew the out-of-door denunciations of the " wicked Latin Church." And the Northmen were no strangers on the streets of Constantinople. It is not quite improbable that the Pope did feel concerned about the spiritual safety of his Northern children.

Again the middle of the twelfth century was a fitting time for the mission, because the Crusade spirit rose higher and higher, until, saddened by the actual defeats, its idealists seemed to find consolation in thinking of St Augustine's city alone.

But the North was not to be utterly deprived of its share in the big crusading. All round about Sweden and Denmark lay immense tracts of land —then yet heathen-peopled—Korel, Finland, the Baltic Coast, the extreme North of Sweden—Westward of Murman. We know that in the thirteenth century the Norwegians and Swedes organised various expeditions to bring the evangel into those parts. Who knows but that the memory of Cardinal Breakspeare, the " gode " Cardinal, may have stirred them to put red crosses on their armour ?

It is curious to note that shortly before Breakspeare's departure for the North, a certain Norwegian Bishop, by name of Hreidar, came to Rome and laid the necessities of the Norwegian Church before the Pope. Eugenius III thought him a very able man, and he was actually consecrated as the first Archbishop of Norway, but, unfortunately, the climate of Italy did not quite suit his agedness; he was seized with a sudden illness and died before he could leave Rome. This incident comes to us as one proof more that the Norwegian Church affairs were well known at the Lateran.

It is also probable that the legate-to-be himself gleaned what information he wanted about the North from the members of the Norwegian mission then in Rome. He may have had long and detailed discussions with the famous Norwegian Benedictine geographer—Nicholas Saemudarsson. With the help of the latter, Breakspeare may have formed a fairly accurate picture of the country which in the twelfth century was just one large battlefield. (See below, Chap. VII.)

Pope Gregory VII complained to Olaf Kyrri that one of the difficulties about sending young men Northwards was their total ignorance of the tongue. Pope Eugenius III could well be pleased that no linguistic obstacles lay in the path of his chosen legate. Here again we have an example of Breakspeare's diligence. An earlier chronicler tells us

that he was well versed in the English and Latin languages, and surely his years of studying in France could not have left him utterly at sea with French. With regard to his knowledge of Old Norse, it must be admitted that there practically exists no direct documentary evidence on this point, but, on the other hand, we know that neither the King nor the court knew Latin, whilst Breakspeare's relations with Norway proved so personal and intimate that one must really reject his total ignorance of the language, though we are absolutely in the dark as to any details. There is, however, a curious reference in a much later papal letter, where it is said that Breakspeare had preached to the Swedes " de ore suo." Could he have done so with an interpreter? Again Rueterdahl[1] says that Breakspeare " war född Engelsman och sason sadan mera bekant med nordisk sprak och Nordiska förhallanda an en Italienare eller Fransmann skulle hafeva warit " (" Breakspeare was an Englishman and therefore better acquainted with the language and customs of the Northmen than would be an Italian or a Frenchman "), but he gives no authority. It may be, of course, that Breakspeare may have had a teacher on the journey, or else that he took lessons from the members of the Norwegian mission. Differences between Middle English and Old Norse were not really so great, and Breakspeare must have realised that an unshared

[1] *Svenska Kirkes Historie* (508).

language could be a serious handicap to him in his legatine capacity.

The object of the mission, rather unhappily worded in certain early chronicles, seems to have been more or less misapprehended by later historians. His biographers say that he was sent to Norway "pro verbo Dei praedicare" —to preach God's word. This sounds a little misleading, since Breakspeare never *converted* Norway, nor can we see anywhere that he was sent there with this object in view. His case may be rightly considered as being somewhat similar to the Augustinian Mission in England. Breakspeare came to Norway not to interfere with the national rights and liberties, because "in his pride he only sought power," as said a Protestant historian, but he came to found metropolitan sees in Norway and Sweden at the personal request of their kings, and also to free the Scandinavian Church from what may be called "lay meddling with clerical matters."

Pontopiddan alone seems to have grasped the true purport of the legateship and he gives it a very brief summary, namely, "Breakspeare nach Norden kam" . . . "daselbst sich der Umstände zu erkündigen" ("to learn all about the situation . . ."), evidently taking it more or less for granted that the Pope had the authority to do so.[1]

[1] Pontopiddan, *Annales Eccl. Dan.*, II, 395.

But the most intimate knowledge of the language and the customs of the people of the North would have been but of little use to the legate, if he were not . . . just himself.

VI

The Journey

VI

THE JOURNEY

IT is supposed that Breakspeare left Rome a short time after his consecration—"processu vero modici temporis"[1] and the date of his departure is generally given as March 1152.

We know nothing about his companions, though his retinue "was large," as well befitted a legate. That we find no detailed mention of his fellow-travellers may be explained by the obvious fact of the chroniclers being entirely absorbed with the legate's own personality. Perhaps none of his suite had anything exceptional about them, or else Breakspeare's "brilliant sun" may have eclipsed the light of lesser stars following in his wake. It may be probable that members of the Norwegian mission accompanied him on the journey.

Again, we are left to mere guessing about the actual stages of his route. We do know that he passed through England, as Saxo says "Britannicum permensus oceanum"[2] and, therefore, his way

[1] Murat., *Vita Adriani IV*, Rer. Ital. Script. III, 1441.
[2] Ed. Holder, *Gesta Dan.*, I, XIV, +470.

must have lain through France. In that case we may well expect him to make a halt in Paris, the city which so greatly fostered his knowledge and so strongly foundationed his marvellous erudition. The last time we saw Breakspeare enter the lovely, laughing city was on the occasion of Eugenius III coming to see the King. Then Breakspeare was a member of the Pope's retinue. Now its majestic gates saw him pass surrounded by a vast retinue of his own. . . .

Dear as Paris was to him, he could not stay there long. Not even in his beloved England would he linger, conscious of his pressing duties further away, in the dark cold North. His England! He would, however, see her once more, at the cost of some delay, since he might have easily chosen another shorter route. Probably some unwordable feeling made him realise that he was coming to England for the last time—and could he afford to lose this opportunity?

From Calais he embarked, probably reminiscent —given as he was to humour—of his landing there many, many years ago as a penniless, shabby student. . . . He did not have to worry about his passage now. . . . But can we not suppose that, if the crossing was rough and perilous, he did utter a few prayers not so much on his own behalf, as on that of the sailors?

He saw London again, but St Alban's did not have the privilege of seeing him at its gates. Was

it because he still remembered the old refusal, or simply the pressure of time? Whichever may have been the reason, there stands no mention of his visit in St Alban's annals, whilst the monks would surely have devoted some space to a legatine call whatever its brevity.

Yet in spite of his numberless duties and very limited leisure (if we suppose he enjoyed any, which was not likely), "the kind-hearted Cardinal" did find time to communicate with some members of his family. His nephew and future biographer, Boso, became his secretary just at that time and either followed him to Norway or else travelled to Rome there to await his uncle's return. Kind to his family, Breakspeare had an exceptional regard for that nephew of his. Boso was later made chamberlain and finally raised to the cardinalate.

The main reason why we possess so wretchedly few details about Breakspeare's second and last sojourn in England is that the middle of the twelfth century found the country in a state of utter devastation which could not but affect the contemporary literature. Even the annalists seemed to find little pleasure in recording the horrors of those times, whilst the English chronicle was then brought to its mournful close.

Glad as Breakspeare was to see again his England, his heart must have ached at her miseries. For he loved her—loved her so much that he was known in his later life, when raised to the ponti-

fical dignity, to say how much happier he would have been, had they allowed him to remain in the prayerful seclusion of St Alban's.

A few traces of Breakspeare's visit still linger in England. There existed a curious tradition that Breakspeare went to a village called Tydd in Norfolk on the borders of Lincolnshire. It was rumoured that he stayed there as the rector of the parish. This, naturally, is quite incompatible with his mission, but, on the other hand, he may indeed have visited the place, and probably a kinsman or namesake of his did obtain the living through the influence of the legate. There is sufficient evidence about his going to Norfolk, because he must have embarked for Norway from the Norfolk coast. Grimsby in those days was the port used mostly by the travellers to and from the North.

Other traces connected with the legate's visit linger about a Hampshire farm " Breakspeare," and another similarly called in Kent. Tarleton, in his monograph on the Cardinal, says that probably there are others. Yet Breakspeare's visit could not have been very lengthy, for we find him in Norway already in July of the same year.

What was England like when Breakspeare saw it last ? A country of misery and desolation reigning supreme from the south to the north, from the east to the west ! Its very bishops were divided amongst themselves for political reasons. Its

MAP OF ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES

(*From a Manuscript in the British Museum. Royal MS., 14 c. VII. f. 5*)

Facing p. 76.

primate, Theobald, appointed by the Pope, openly sided with Henry of Anjou, whilst the throne was in the hands of Stephen. . . .

Breakspeare's visit just collided with the end of the Angevin period (870–1154). The long and steady peace of the Norman rule came to the end with the death of Henry I in 1135. Amidst the anarchy which followed Henry's demise, Stephen appeared at the gates of London. He claimed to be the nearest male heir, and his claim was not utterly baseless, since his mother was the conqueror's daughter, Adela, who had married the Count de Blois. Stephen was reared in England and brought up in the vicinity of the English court. Doubtless there was something winsome in his personality, for the citizens of London gave him a hearty welcome, even before he thought of mustering his forces. In the words of Green—"Aldermen and wise folk gathered together the folkmoot, and these providing at their own will for the good of the realm, unanimously resolved to choose a king." But the wise folk of London forsook their wisdom on that day. The citizens eagerly swore to defend Stephen with their money as well as with their blood, and in return the newly elected king gave a solemn oath that he would govern "well and in peace." Most loyally did London keep her oath, most treacherously did Stephen break faith not only with the venerable city, but with the rest of the country, too. For he

had sworn to govern well, whilst he possessed no idea about it. To the English history his rule left nineteen dreary years of horrors, some of which are unrecordable. Stephen's weakness was a vicious pretence, his profligacy cried to heaven for vengeance in a poverty-stricken land. The country, however, had just a little strength left wherewith to stand up in lawful rebellion. Already in 1138 we read of the barons rising against Stephen. The Scottish King came to their aid. They rapidly fortified their castles, and this garrisoned position led them to a mutinous independence. This irritated Stephen to such a degree, that, unable yet to cope with the barons, he vented his ill-humour on the bishops, and imprisoned some of them. Just at that time, Empress Matilda landed in England and summoned the discontented barons to her side. Stephen, however, still claimed the allegiance of a few, and the country split into two camps. The Empress's adherents had the Western counties, whilst the East and the city of London, unchangedly loyal to their oath, supported Stephen. Finally the two armies met, and Stephen's troops were ingloriously defeated at Lincoln, but Matilda is said to have shown open contempt for the London burghers, and this policy enabled Stephen to come back to the city. And at this date the English chronicle comes to its mournful ending, for really it did look as though God's wrath swept torrentially over the

unhappy country. The barons thought of their own ends to gain, Stephen—of his crown's safety. Who thought of the land and the miseries it endured under the continuous strain of economic disorder and civil war ?

And the Church suffered too. Stephen's brother, Henry of Winchester, " half-monk and half-soldier," ruled it at his will, which was not quite unlike his brother's, but the bishops would not listen to him, since, for all his warlike qualities, he wielded but little influence.

In 1147 Matilda fled to France, and Stephen was left in the sole possession of an impoverished and devastated England. But in a little while his throne was threatened again by Henry—Matilda's son. At the time of Breakspeare's visit, Henry was just preparing to enter England and take the crown from the unworthy hands of Stephen.

Now Henry of Anjou was warmly supported by Eugenius III. It is known how the Pope deposed Henry of Winchester and consecrated Theobald as Archbishop of Canterbury. Stephen must have bitterly resented this election, but he seemed to have no choice in the matter. Needless to say, the new primate was heart and soul on the side of Henry.

The English policy of Eugenius III reveals to us once again the Pope's subtle knowledge of human character, since there is little need to repeat that

no worse sovereign than Stephen had ever ascended the throne of England.

Such being the conditions of the English Church, it is easy to realise that Breakspeare, as a papal legate, could not go and see Stephen, who at that time was bitterly quarrelling with the bishops. But the Cardinal assuredly took an opportunity of visiting Theobald, to whom his coming was doubly welcome—as that of a legate and a countryman.

It is easy to imagine how Breakspeare's innate love for law and for order must have shrunk from the utter chaos then prevailing in the English Church. Did he not think, perhaps, that here, at home, his presence was more wanted than in the unknown lands of the North? The Church in England, too, stood in dire need of a firm, guiding hand. Why should he not take the helm of a ship his very soul loved so much? Could he not quiet those angry, high-tossed waves and hush the winds of quarrel and dispute which swept over the peace-a-hungered land? Of course, he thought of such things—since we must not forget that Breakspeare was an Englishman to the core. Years of French studies and Italian preferments and Scandinavian travellings did nothing ever to efface his Englishness. Just because he was an Englishman, he visualised his duty with a perfect clarity, and that duty for once did not lie in England. The big purpose awaited him elsewhere,

beyond the ever stormy grey-green expanse of a sea which has never learned to respond to the austere laughter of the northern sun.

Thus Breakspeare moved on doubtless with a heart heavily laden with unuttered sadness for England.

His boat reached Norway sometime in July 1152. Snorri Sturleson has a touching story to tell us about the memorable day of Breakspeare's landing.[1] "In the days of Harald's sons, Cardinal Nicholas came from Rome to Norway, being sent there by the Pope. And a man called Haldor fell into the hands of the Vintland people who mutilated him . . . cutting off his tongue." The wretched man implored the intercession of King Olaf, "fixing his mind entirely on the Saint," and he received back his speech and health. Snorri adds, with a quaint significance, that "this miracle took place fourteen days before the last Olafsmas upon the day that Cardinal Nicholas set foot on the land of Norway." To a Northern mind this truly spelt no haphazard coincidence, for in all reality Breakspeare was so soon to become the "gode" Cardinal of Norway.

Before we go any further with our narrative of Breakspeare's legateship, the following ought to be mentioned. Even though the legate is known to have visited both Denmark and Sweden as well as Norway, still the object of his mission was

[1] *Heimskringla*, ed. Laing, IV, 248-49.

primarily concerned with Norway and Norway alone. So strongly was it felt and so clearly realised, that in some documents the other two countries are not even mentioned by name. The Norwegian bishops were the first to consider the necessity of a national metropolitan. It is quite true that the Swedish clergy added their signatures to a joint petition sent to Rome from the North, but Sweden undoubtedly stood but second in the matter. The needs of the Norwegian Church, on the other hand, were most graphically outlined, and Breakspeare was there well *au courant*, which cannot be said of his knowledge of the Swedish Church, the latter being more or less unknowable for the time being. Again, some Northern historians make mention of a Church Council held in Norway sometime in the twelfth century. Nothing is definitely known concerning its resolutions, but it is quite probable that the news about it may have reached the Lateran. It stands clear that the Norwegian Church had the initiative in all the ecclesiastical affairs jointly appertaining to Norway and Sweden. We find no mention of Swedes in the Northern mission which came to Rome in 1151.

With regard to the Danish Church, little need be said, for its orderly organisation admitted of inspection, hardly of drastic reforms, whilst at the end Sweden proved utterly unreformable. It

is true that Breakspeare was to find many a disorder in the Norwegian Church, but all of its wrongs were remediable, and he was thus able to carry out his reforms in spite of the heavy odds against him.

VII

Norway as Breakspeare Found It

VII

NORWAY AS BREAKSPEARE FOUND IT

WHEN the legate reached the Norwegian shores in July of 1152, the whole country lay in a state of wildest confusion—political as well as ecclesiastical. Breakspeare could not very well have chosen a worse—or shall we say—a better moment for landing. The very throne was being disputed amongst the three sons of a wanton and cruel king, murdered as far back as 1136, whose only heritage was chaos and dissension. Ever since his death Norway remained in a state of civil war.

If we wish to have a true perspective of that particular period in the Norwegian history, we must turn back at least twenty years before Breakspeare's arrival. Harald-Gille began his horrible reign in 1130. His Christianity was a mere veneer with which he tried to shield himself against the well-merited accusations of his enemies. He was not unlike the English Stephen in that he seemed—at least in the beginning—to be very weak, vacillating in his judgments and totally pliable. The nobles welcomed him all too speedily

and built plans of a baronial millennium, but very soon Harald showed himself in his true colours. His treatment of an unfortunate kinsman, Magnus, whom he blinded and mutilated on an unsubstantiated suspicion of treason, aroused indignation in the country. But Harald was quick to subdue it by deft strokes of his axe and he brutally hanged a bishop, Reinald by name, who did dare to remonstrate with him. Fortunately for Norway, his reign came to an end in 1136, when he was murdered. Yet even after his death, the country fared but little better. His widow, Inigrid, was left with two sons—Inge, a baby of two, and Eystein aged five. Unpopular though their father was, the boys were proclaimed Kings and recognised as such by the whole of Norway. The nobles were in favour of their succession, since, in view of their age, it spelt a promise of an uncontrolled baronial rule. Yet the boys' claims were not to be left unquestioned. A certain Sigurd, a kinsman of the murdered king, coveted the crown for himself. Sigurd was a totally unscrupulous man, and it is recorded that he had had a share in Harald's murder. He incited the people of Norway to rebellion " against the hateful progeny of a hated King," and, in order to remind them all the more vividly of Harald's iniquities, he liberated the blinded Magnus and used his misfortunes as a tool for his own ends. But the Kings' guardians seemed determined to support the boys' interests—doubt-

less solely for the sake of their own. Sigurd's rebellion, organised so inadequately and hurriedly, came to no success, and he was taken prisoner and put to death under most horrible tortures.

After the suppression of Sigurd's mutiny, peace came to Norway, but again for a short spell only. In 1142 another Sigurd hailed from the Scottish shores, claiming to be the lawful son of Harald and demanding his share of the kingdom. His parentage claim must have been valid. Most probably he brought with him some credentials and was thus able to prove his descent. But none of the nobles were willing to accede to his demand for the crown, whilst he was in no way ready to relinquish it, with the result that peace and order again became unknown in Norway. At the beginning, though, the brothers did maintain a certain pretence of friendliness towards their kinsman, but the thin ice broke when a Norwegian nobleman killed the brother of a lady for whom Sigurd had a certain affection. The murder infuriated the prince, and his heart leapt up at the glorious thought of fitting revenge, but the nobleman in question was in the service of Inge, and the boy was counselled to shield him against Sigurd's wrath. The latter resented it most bitterly and was preparing to give the Kings a fit answer " by the swords and axes " of his adherents, when the Court affairs were turned into a quite different direction. The Queen-Dowager married a noble-

man, and her sons were thus placed under the care of their stepfather. The aristocracy opposed the marriage very strongly, and Sigurd knew how to make good use of their as yet subdued murmurings. He commenced by estranging himself from his half-brothers, even from Eystein, whose party had given him support in his first strife against Inge. But Sigurd's policy proved too far-fetched, for he counted on the help of the nobles whom he never really won over to his side. Soon Norway heard the appalling news that the Queen's husband was assassinated and it was no secret that Sigurd had taken more than a share in the crime. This completely ruined what chances he might have hoped to possess, and the people began to hate him quite openly for his cruelty and immorality, in which he so strongly resembled his father—Harald of unholy memory. The public opinion in Norway definitely swayed in favour of the young Inge—the Crookback, as he was nicknamed from his childhood. This youth, whom the cruelty of his guardians dragged into open battles when a mere baby, stands as one of the few redeeming characters in the Norwegian history of that period. His horrible deformities had taught him patience, and the gift of kind impulses easily came to one who had suffered so much. We have many records of Inge's benevolence, "clinging to virtue," his gentleness. The fierce Norwegian nobles may have despised a King whose frailty prevented him from

lifting an axe, but Cardinal Breakspeare must have quickly glimpsed the real worth of this youth, since we are told that "the legate loved Inge as a son."

Inge's personality was one utterly unfamiliar to the Norwegians. But they were not slow to realise that there lay something lovable about this gentle fragile boy, who valued peace and kindness more than anything else and whose pale face became whiter still at the sight of unnecessary bloodshed. Inge's popularity grew on and on, though the boy made no attempts to win it. And Sigurd's heart blackened, as he thought of that contemptible deformed youth. But, afraid to open hostilities, Sigurd warily entered into negotiations with Eystein. Inge was winning the love of everybody, they—himself and Eystein—would be gradually ousted of their own rights! Hence, to avoid the catastrophe, it was necessary either to depose Inge . . . or to get rid of him. . . . Norway would then wholly belong to them alone, they would rule jointly—Sigurd and Eystein! This was their right, for the people of Norway had no possible use for a weak deformed boy like Inge. He would ruin the country by his sheer unfitness. A king—incapable of mounting a horse, of wielding the axe! Too laughable this! He would bring dishonour on the fair fame of Norway abroad! The people were deluded into believing they loved him! How could they? And thus Sigurd succeeded in bringing Eystein over to his side.

Obviously, even had they won, Eystein would never have reigned, for "Sigurd's promises were many and rapid, but he fulfilled them scantily and slowly," if at all.

Yet the Inge party had guessed in time the true policy of Sigurd, and they were not prepared to give in without defence. In 1152, when the "gode" Cardinal's boat touched the Norwegian coast, matters were approaching a crisis, for the joint forces of Sigurd and Eystein were preparing a formidable attack against the party of Inge.

And the Church, which the legate was coming to reform? It was anything but tranquil. Discontent with the hated primacy of the Archbishop of Lund led the kings and bishops of Norway to seek support at the hands of the once-hated Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. Hartwig, the then Archbishop, pursued a most peculiar policy. Though brother-in-law to the Danish King, he most bitterly resented the inauguration of the Lund Archbishopric. On the other hand, it was just as obvious that he did not favour the Norwegian scheme of a separate metropolitan. Wrong would it be to allege that his views on the Norwegian question were dictated by mere personal motives, yet it is quite true that his share in the campaign carried against the rights of the Lund Archbishop was negative in so far as it concerned Norway. It is known that in 1149 Hartwig appealed to Rome, trying to win back the old

authority of the Bremen Archbishopric over the Northern Churches, but we know that Hartwig's efforts in this direction did not succeed either with the Emperor or with the Pope, who looked on the restoration of the old Hamburg-Bremen system as a futile measure. Yet Hartwig's personality was such that he cannot be judged one-sidedly. As the chronicler speaks of him " qui propter generis nobilitatem (he was of the blood royal) duplice principatu clarus magno studio enisus est, pro recuperandis suffrageneis Episcopis universae Daniae, Norwegiae, Swediae quo Hamburgensi Ecclesiae quondam pertinuisse commemorat antiquitas " (" . . . who, because of his noble origin, . . . strove with great zeal to recover authority over the suffragan bishoprics of all Denmark, Norway and Sweden, which, according to history, had belonged to the Church of Hamburg.") Hartwig was probably quite sincere in his deeply-rooted conviction that the remedy for the wrongs of the Northern Church lay in its readmission into the Hamburg-Bremen Archdiocese. In Hartwig's eyes the so-called Lund experiment proved to be a mere failure, since evidently neither Norway nor Sweden seemed to have gained any advantage from it. And, on the other hand, Hartwig could not but feel absolutely convinced that neither the Norwegian nor the Swedish Church were capable of any self-government. Such was the policy he pursued, and we cannot help thinking

that on the whole it was not so self-interested as it was shown to be, because any realisation of his own plans would but have brought him personally nothing except additional trouble and worry. Norway and Sweden were not easily manageable.

Hartwig's relations to Denmark were perfectly diplomatic. Suhm says[1] that he brought there priests and monks ("bringende med sig en Del Praester og Munke"). He must have had some personal attachment to Denmark, since Erik, the King, was married to his own sister. And, inimical though Hartwig was towards the Lund scheme, the Danish chroniclers had the following to say in his memory: "Selo var han en veltalende omgiaengelig, mild og taal—modig Mand . . . Han sang Messen overmaade vel, og var erfaren i der Graekiske og Latinske Sprog." "He was a very gifted and mild man . . . Sang mass most beautifully and was well-versed in Latin and in Greek."

The Archbishopric of Lund, founded by Pope Paschal II, about 1103, had for its first pastor a certain "Ascerus," a very saintly man. (Probably if he were alive in 1152, Norway would have had far lesser grievances.) Says the Lund chronicle that a pallium was sent to him, and that he became "Sveciae" primate and consecrated the Bishop of Upsala and gave him pallium, "which deed was hated by the Swedes." Most probably because the bishop in question was no Swede proper, but

[1] *Hist. Danska*, VI, 104.

a Gothlander, and racial jealousies could never be bridled in Sweden. The first archbishop ruled in peace and saintliness and caused little trouble, for he loved peace. He died in 1137. "Obiit Ascerus, primus Archiepiscopus Lundensis. Et tenebre facte sunt in quadragesima per universam terram (one wonders whether this was due to his death—at least from the viewpoint of the chronicler!) et eodem anno Eskillus Archiepiscopus Lundensis electus est" ("... Died Ascerus, first Archbishop of Lund. And in Lent darkness fell all over the world, and in the same year, Eskill was elected to the Archbishopric of Lund.")

Of Eskill more is to be said anon. Breakspeare was to meet him. Here it will be necessary only to point out the evident flaws in his political skill which so ironically belied his name. Clever, well-read, well-connected, deep of thought, if shallow of act, Eskill moved as no mean personality at the Court of King Erik. Early taken into the royal confidence, and, probably, keeping the king, unbeknown to himself, under his influence, Eskill tried to undermine the erstwhile highly pedestalled position of the Hamburg-Bremen Archbishops. Whether he was genuinely convinced that the Lund arrangement was a permanent measure and that such a jurisdiction would finally prove salutary both to Norway and Sweden, we cannot tell. But Eskill held quite definitely that the Hamburg-Bremen authority was at that time

shelved into domains of ancient history and had to be treated accordingly. To Eskill its restoration was nothing but a dream of a madman. Yet his own plans about an undisputed authority in the North were all too early shattered to pieces. First he rather awkwardly jeopardised his own position, when—to follow the chronicler: "suae potestatis stabiliendae primum fecit periculum dum ad concilium nationale Lundae celebratum A.D. 1139 (so untimely soon after his consecration!) omnes suffraganeos, Episcopos non Daniae solum verum etiam Sveciae Norwegiaeque auctoritate archiepiscopali convocaret" ("He first endangered the stability of his power, when, at a National Synod [gathered at Lund in 1139], he called together all the suffragans not only of Denmark but also of Sweden and Norway, by his archiepiscopal authority.") Evidently, though the chronicler, wary of judgment, omits all further details, Eskill must have shown himself very arbitrary and arrogant from the beginning. He may have treated Norwegian bishops in the same way as he thought of them, *i.e.*, his inferiors. He may have revealed on several unnecessary occasions that his word was to be law to them whether they liked it or not. And, certainly, they had no reason to like it.

We do not know what were the resolutions passed at that first synod of Lund. Whatever they were, Rome decided to favour Eskill's decisions, and

the bishops of Norway had to submit . . . for a time, as they fervently hoped. Thus Eskill, proud of his attained superiority, sent " episcopos " to Greenland and Iceland. But the nobles of Norway did not cease to murmur.

At the time of Breakspeare's mission Norway was divided into four episcopal sees—" common," as Snorri Sturlesson calls them—Nidaros (the modern Trondjem), Bergen, Oslo (later Christiania, now once again Oslo) and Stavanger. The political chaos and economical troubles have influenced the Church. Many monks and priests were known to take their part in the civil war, since there lived a fighter in every Northman. The only common bond uniting the peasant and the priest, the monk and the canon, was a universal discontent with the Lund scheme. They resented it in principle, they could hardly tolerate it in practice, especially after that memorable Synod of Lund in 1139. The bishops still remembered that slight in 1152. Perhaps the gist of the whole affair was that the Norwegians wanted an archbishop of their own for no other reason except that their pride forbade them to acknowledge a foreigner as their superior. This state of affairs was all the more accentuated because, as was shown above, Christianity in Norway was introduced and fostered by the kings. Why should it be improbable that the old pagan belief in the divine descent of their dynasty gradually led the Northmen to invest

their Christian kings with a divine right to govern and to legislate? We must not forget that the conversion of Norway was a slow process, and that paganism was not deserted with that spontaneity which alone admits of an absolute change in spirit and mind.

The very Canon Law in Norway owed its origin (somewhere at the beginning of the eleventh century) to the workings of a royal thought. Olaf I it was who first gathered those laws together, and gave them a collective name of "Graagaas." This code underwent some slight modifications in the reign of Sweyn, and later Magnus, son of St Olaf, edited the code at the suggestion of his council: "... hoc autem opere adeo sibi populum universum devinxit ... ut ... communi omnium calculo bonus cognominatus fuerit" ("by this deed he won over to himself the whole nation to such an extent ... that ... in the common opinion of all he was called good.") What wonder, then, that the people in Norway thought the kings possessed a perfect right to administer the Canon Law?

But it was not the Church which at the beginning claimed Breakspeare's undivided attention. The statesman in him knew but too well that no reforms would last if carried out amidst the deafening turmoil of civic strife.

The first glimpse Norway had of Breakspeare was not that of a rigid ecclesiastical reformer, but of a very human peacemaker.

VIII

The Way of Peace

VIII

THE WAY OF PEACE

THE very first days of Breakspeare's stay in Scandinavia prove to us that Eugenius III had been entirely justified in the choice of his legate. For, since the moment of his landing, Breakspeare stood confronted with a most difficult situation indeed, and had he been incapable of coping with it, Norway might have easily resented his further reforms. It is true that Breakspeare was not sent to pacify the realm and to reconcile the warring kings, but, fortunately, he was quick to realise that civil war *had* to be stopped before any reforms were thought of. And the greatest handicap lay in that the mission was not meant to prolong indefinitely, whilst there were the Church reforms, there was Sweden in its turn awaiting his visit, there were the delicate diplomatic tasks in Denmark—in short, an unlimited scope for actual legatine work, and . . . there were the three quarrelling brothers to manage. . . .

It is easy to see that if ever an historical situation afforded immense chances for blundering, this was the one. For the legate might have thought it

beneath his dignity to interfere in what did not, properly speaking, belong to his province. He might have gathered the bishops of the land, taken counsel with them and started reforming the Church, calmly assuring himself that this was the sublime task he was meant to do, and no other. The Church reformed, he might have given a little of his precious attention to the chaotic state of temporality. Again, the legate might have shrunk from the risks of making regrettable mistakes in dealing with the temporality. After all, his knowledge of the country did not quite justify such a line of conduct.

Yes, Breakspeare might have committed any and all of these " blunders." He would not have been less of a legate had he restricted himself to the ecclesiastical reforms alone. His task would have been done no less honourably. But it remains an open question whether in that case he would still have won " the hearts of the Northmen," whether he would still have become so dear to them as to stand for centuries enshrined in their grateful remembrances. Just because he came to them undividedly, whole-heartedly throwing himself into all their troubles—spiritual as well as temporal—because of that they loved him. Because he spared no particle of his energy to found a lasting peace in their war-afflicted country, because his keen intuition of a true statesman made him choose the fittest means towards obtain-

ing that peace for them—therefore did Norway appreciate so keenly every act of his.

The dry, matter-of-fact entries of chronicles do not tell us much. We know nothing about Breakspeare's meeting with the kings, nor are we told whether he made the acquaintances of all of them at once or not. It is, however, easy to surmise that the gentle "Christlike" Inge was the first to meet the legate. As we have seen above, the royal strife was then approaching its crisis, and the cunning Sigurd and disloyal Eystein might have preferred to keep at a distance. We may well believe that they feared rather than welcomed the legate's arrival. Was the Pope's ambassador coming as their friend or their enemy? In the latter case, would his influence be sufficiently strong to harm their cause? A certain sentence in the Heimskringla of Snorri Sturlesson vaguely hints at the princes' enmity towards Breakspeare. We are told that he "took offence at their behaviour." It may have been that he, having already met Inge, was revolted at their treachery against the unfortunate deformed boy. On the other hand, there is nothing to disprove the possibility of their having done something spiteful to Breakspeare. Anyhow, neither Sigurd nor Eystein were given a long time to brood in the distance. Breakspeare quickly saw that most of Norway's troubles could be laid at their door, for they ruined the country with their bitter and incessant troubles.

If these two were not pacified, no order could be established in Norway. Very likely, after the legate's departure, they might find fault with the new metropolitan and hang him to satisfy their tyrannical whim! Thus, if we are to follow the chronicler, Breakspeare started his mission as a peacemaker: "in fratres Sigurdum et Eysteinsium severior (he saw they richly deserved it), quod innata animi ferocia libidine in licentiam versa multa violenter agerent, tametsi Eysteinus aliquatenus ad moderationen inclinaret" (" More severely towards the brothers Sigurd and Eystein, who, because of their innate ferocity had turned liberty into licence, and acted violently, although Sigurd was a little inclined towards moderation.") We are not told by what means Breakspeare achieved this psychological feat. Was it the consummate skill of his persuasive powers? Or his gentleness, which we see so vividly instanced in numberless other cases? Finally, did he think that the rugged Northern nature could best be moved by the mediævally common menace of excommunication? Whatever were Breakspeare's methods, we find that the princes "were obliged to come to a reconciliation with him!" This again infers a previous difference, or was it a bitter quarrel? If so, all the more merit to Breakspeare for having succeeded in winning them over to his side after an outburst of enmity directed against him. The climax of this incident leads us back to

the legate's arrival in Norway. Breakspeare may very well have received a subtle warning to the effect that his presence was not greatly desired by one party in Norway. Sigurd and Eystein would surely be leaders in that party. And why reject the possibility that the warning implied a deftly-veiled menace. . . . Norway was mercifully distant, and the Northern Sea slow to reveal its hideous secrets. Of course, Rome would make inquiries, but who could be strictly responsible for the accidents in a storm ?

Yet we know that Breakspeare neither deferred his landing nor postponed " persuading the angry brothers to peace." He came just as though no dangers existed, and " bent them to come near " and " be reconciled with him," and perhaps the most incomprehensible thing of all, we are told that he " imposed penances for their iniquities, which they accepted right submissively." One cannot help thinking that of all incidents in Breakspeare's over-busy life, this calm act of " peacemaking " is the most beautiful. With no army he stood there, in that rough, unknown country, where violence was so common and human life almost worthless. Could a legatine retinue prove capable of serious defence ? If anything happened, and again be it repeated that most things were happenable in the mediæval Norway . . . Breakspeare himself may have had a thought or two that Rome would not see him

again. Instead, he came and won them and did it infallibly, creating a lasting impression in the national memory. When Norway was to remember him later, she would remember his labours for her peace. Now—a mere conjecture this, but one not to be quite refuted—it is certain that if Breakspeare had committed a single mistake at the beginning of his missions, Norway would have resented his later reforms. Yet we hear that when he "imposed penances" on the erstwhile proud and unbending princes, there were no national murmurs. They acquiesced in his measure, saw nothing unjust or derogative in its severity. ["Sed post illi amiticiam eius accepta poenitentia, sibi conciliassent."] Probably on the strength of this act of Breakspeare's, Breyer called him "a most remarkable personality in history."

The brothers reconciled to him, there still remained their family feud. How were they now to stand with Inge?

We know that from the first the legate took a liking to Inge—he called him "his son." "Ingium autem amabat filiumque appellabat." Again he used his influence to bear upon the princes, and they made peace with their crippled brother.

The next vital point was the election of a sovereign. Norway could not be left kingless nor could it be governed by three kings at once. Breakspeare settled the dispute in preference to Inge. Yes, Inge was to be king, even though he could not

mount a horse or wield an axe! For Breakspeare saw in him potentialities of a true Christian governor, and this led the legate to decide the matter in Inge's favour. The youth did not reign long, but his rule was such that it fully justified Breakspeare's wisdom in his election. The chroniclers duly commented on the far-sightedness of the Cardinal, for Inge really possessed a superior character.

Now it need not be imagined that Breakspeare's brilliant statesmanship brought about a veritable millennium in Norway. There were wrongs utterly irremediable, and the legate did not waste his time over them. There were other points which doubtless would have required a lengthy examination, and Breakspeare had to pass them over—reluctantly, we may believe. Absolute peace and quiet and prosperity did in nowise descend on Norway with his landing, for he did not achieve the impossible, but the country did get some breathing-space from the cessation of those harassing disturbances which are the natural consequence of royal feuds, and, doubtless, it was all the better for it.

Were the civil affairs of Norway duly considered at the Lateran before Breakspeare set out on his mission? It is difficult to say. Most likely the legate acted on his own initiative when reconciling the brothers to himself and the Church. It is not impossible that Rome did know something of

the perilous situation in the North, and the chroniclers lay great stress on the dangers of the legateship just because of the "gens ferocissima" in Norway. On the other hand, the West could hardly be expected to know all about the royal battling, and such steps as Breakspeare thought fit to take would in all probability have been dictated by his judgment as an eye-witness. Moreover, his natural dignity, let alone other things, prevented him from acting "till all was calm."

A relative peace, established in the country, left Breakspeare free to go on with his real work. Doubtless the latter, so strongly foundationed by his "peacemaking," was now somewhat easier.

The next chapter is devoted entirely to his numerous ecclesiastical reforms. Here it is merely proposed to touch on the Breakspearian influences in the civil life of Norway.

We know that he had largely shared in the election of the King. He had also modified, if not completely checked, the all but expressed belief in the divine origin of regal authority. Presently we shall see this instanced in the archiepiscopal election. Thus, almost imperceptibly, Breakspeare limited the hitherto uncontrollable royal prerogative of episcopal appointments. This was a hard thing to combat in Norway, where the royal initiative had taken so large a share in the very fostering of Christianity. But Breakspeare had

to insist on the fact of his coming to Norway as a messenger of higher laws, incomparable to the glaring imperfections of the civil code. It was his duty to trace a demarcation line between the rights of a king and those of a bishop. His hand moved firmly in tracing the line, and Norway saw it.

One authority (Keyser) alleges that Breakspeare also obtained from the kings a total surrender of their rights to appoint lower clergy, but of this there is no evidence except a much later papal letter to the effect that the former kings are said to have freely given up this privilege.

Now before we say anything about Breakspeare's work in the Norwegian civil affairs, an explanatory word is needed. It might be thought that Breakspeare unlawfully went out of his legatine province in " meddling " with the purely secular legislation of Norway. In fact, such is the view adopted by some later historians of the North. Was there any excuse for him to extend his reforms to the civil law, when his mission was solely concerned with affairs ecclesiastical ?

We shall see presently whether such an allegation has any justice in it.

First of all—let it be borne in mind that mediæval daily life was much more bound up with the Church than is generally known to-day—it was not due to any priestly " tyranny " or even " witchcraft," or even to popular ignorance. A

mediæval burgher probably knew a thing or two more than an average tradesman of to-day. If he had not travelled himself, he knew how to listen to those who had. His Church life to him was something intrinsically vital, brilliantly coloured and understandable. He carried his saints into the market-place, into his shop, into his library—if he could read. They were not dead statuary to him, but live beings who were keenly humanly interested in all he did and said and thought. He chose patrons for every craft, and he felt that his own successes were oftentimes partly won by the strong love of the saints. The same could be witnessed in his public life. It is hard even to imagine a Norwegian "Thing" being assembled without a special blessing asked from St Olaf, or an expedition of some kind organised and dispatched without any notice being taken of St Thorwaldr.

Breakspeare did look into the Norwegian codices. In them he only reformed those things which were inherited from the pagan legislation, cruel things, barbaric laws, customs utterly devoid of all Christian charity—in short, all those things which might have hindered, and that considerably, the spiritual progress of Norway. As Snorri tells us: "he improved many rude customs when living amongst us." For the Norwegian laws were sternness itself. They were handed down from pagan legislators who knew little, if anything, of mercy.

Facing p. 110.

MAP OF EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

(*From the Géographie Jomard, XV., I. British Museum.*)

We know that capital punishment, in its most cruel and horrible shapes, was often inflicted for quite insignificant offences.[1]

We know that with regard to civil laws Breakspeare used his judgment most discriminately and wisely. In no way did he tamper with the real national liberties of the people of Norway. Such reforms as were carried out under his influence tended to promote a more lasting peace in the country. We know that among other things Breakspeare introduced a law that no man should go unpunished who appeared with arms in a merchant town, except the twelve men in attendance on the King. In this instance Breakspeare merely aimed at introducing pacifying elements into the Norwegian trade, where merchants were often known to arrive at speedier decisions by swords and axes.

Breakspeare did not come and hurl the whole bulk of Roman laws at the Norwegians—telling them "to swallow it and be silent." He went into the national laws and modified them, but he was too wise to mingle them with foreign elements, unacceptable to the Norwegians. His reforms in this province were all based on his quick understanding of the immediate national needs—the greatest of which was undoubtedly peace.

[1] For the mediæval Northern legislation, see *Iura Civ. Daniæ*, Resenii, Hafniæ, 1683, which is strikingly reminiscent of the Vikings' legislature.

IX

The Legate and the Norwegian Church

IX

THE LEGATE AND THE NORWEGIAN CHURCH

AS might well be expected, the *raison d'être*, as it were, of the whole legateship, was the establishment of the Norwegian metropolitan see. Risky though this measure was, since it involved Norway's separation from the canonical jurisdiction of Denmark, yet it was an urgent necessity and as such could not be postponed much longer. Very likely Breakspeare knew that the question would still be far from solved even with the election as a *fait accompli*, since the Archbishop of Lund was sure to feel injured by the curtailing of his authority. But, in July 1152, Breakspeare did not think so much of Denmark as of Norway.

If we are to follow Snorri's version, the legate had taken "counsel with the princes" (all of them being in good peace) and "moved them to let him" choose a certain Jon Birgensson (the then Bishop of Stavanger) as a possible candidate for the Archbishopric-to-be. It is unknown to us how Breakspeare got to know the said prelate,

but it is hardly likely that the legate would have made a haphazard choice. It may be that the Bishop was a personal friend of that learned Benedictine, Nicholas Saemudarsson, who, as we know, came to Rome in 1151. Again, Breakspeare himself may have made the Bishop's acquaintance in those first turbulent days of his stay in Scandinavia. And we have abundant evidence to show us that Breakspeare was generally a shrewd judge of character.

Snorri tells us that he (Breakspeare) gave the new candidate "a vestment which is called pallium," and these words of Snorri's imply rather clearly that the North was not very familiar with the meaning of "pallium."

The seat of the new metropolitan was to be Nidaros—the modern Trondhjem—the greatest sanctuary of the North, for its walls sheltered the loved relics of St Olaf. Breakspeare's choice of the site, if it was independent, comes as another instance of his "talentfuld"-ness, for no other spot was dearer to the Norwegians, and the legate's subtly evidenced respect for the national history could not have passed unappreciated. Pontopiddan quaintly remarks that Breakspeare found Nidaros merely "bequem," but one cannot help thinking that Breakspeare was more actuated by Norway's history than by its geography. In a further arrangement the Cardinal settled that Bergensson's successors should keep their seat

there, and not change it. The newly consecrated archbishop was invested with due authority—the following sees being subjected to his jurisdiction : the four bishoprics of Norway, the two bishoprics of Iceland, and the four bishoprics of Greenland, the Faröe Islands, the Orkneys and the Sodor-Man. Later this reform would be duly confirmed by a bull of Anastasius IV—Eugenius III being dead—dated November 1154.[1] [See further Chap. XI.]

We are told that Breakspeare "had taken counsel with the princes" in the act of electing Birgensson. This stands rather as a record of mere courtesy than anything else. His later measures proved to be utterly independent. It may be the case that Breakspeare may have wished to show the princes some appreciation "for their courtesy in coming to peace," and he thought of nothing better than consulting them, as sovereigns, about this subject of theirs he was going to make metropolitan of Norway. It would be idle to infer that in this Breakspeare conceded to the princes the intrinsic right of episcopal election. Later, his reforms came "with no prop of royal affirmation or approval," and though the princes may have been bewildered, still, as the chronicler tells us "they did submit themselves." In short, the whole trend of Breakspeare's reforms in the Norwegian Church leads to an enfranchisement of the latter from the royal supervision and

[1] *M.P.L.*, t. 188, 1081.

lay interference in matters entirely appertaining to the clerical province.

Breakspeare continued the reforms by creating a new bishopric—that of Hamar—in lieu of Nidaros now raised to the archiepiscopal rank. Wisdom of choice is here instanced once more. Hamar was situated well inland (Northward of Oslo), whilst all other bishoprics were on the coast. Probably Breakspeare visualised the later missionary possibilities of the Hamar bishopric. Its situation was one best fitted for speedier communications with the heathen-peopled Northern parts of Scandinavia. It was in this very town that Breakspeare began building a Cathedral which was later destined to occupy his thoughts in the pontifical halls of the Lateran. [See further, Chap. XII.] Another architectural plan of Breakspeare's was the foundation of St Olaf's cloister in Nidaros.

Next, he riveted his individual attention on the difficult problems of ecclesiastical legislature in Norway.

As we have seen above (Chap. III), the formation of Canon Law in the North did not entirely lie in episcopal hands. In fact, the first code ever drawn up there, was mainly the result of King Olaf's work. Hence, the kings considered themselves in the right to settle questions which really did not belong to the secular sphere at all. Such abuses must have been pretty frequent, and we know

that Breakspeare tried to remedy this wrong by establishing special courts for the administration of Canon Law in Norway. In the words of the chronicler, Breakspeare "ad normam Romanam reduxit" ("brought to the standards of Rome"). He also appointed three archdeacons to regulate the Church affairs after his absence. Now the above-quoted text might lead us to infer that Breakspeare may have used his authority a little too much. Was the Norwegian Church prepared to accept the institutions of the Roman Canon Law?

Now, in the first place, the Church in Norway had no Canon Law of its own, strictly speaking. It possessed certain regulations, and the so-called "lögs" (law-codices)—for the most part drawn up by kings—naturally all of them approved by royal authority. Those laws were a curious mixture of Eastern and Western influences, of slowly-dying pagan reminiscences and but freshly-grafted Christian traditions. Canonically they never seemed to have had a strict and impartial application. Harald-Gille hanged one of his bishops, but we hear of no ecclesiastical censure being passed upon him. By introducing what he thought the right conglomerate of Canonical Laws, Breakspeare did nothing detrimental to the ancient statutes of Norway. If anything, he improved them, regularised them, and, if one may say so, Christianised them.

One of the evident results of Breakspeare's legislative reforms is seen in the improved financial condition of the Norwegian clergy. They were wretchedly poor. With an unjust sarcasm Adam of Bremen calls them "avaricious." If they were so, it was none of their own doing, for they had to live, and, obviously, they had precious little to live on. Tithes were introduced in Norway as late as 1100, and it remains an open question whether they were paid regularly. Evidently Breakspeare had to insist on their regulation. Again we see him laying stress on voluntary contributions. Let the faithful give not only what they are bound to give, but what they want to give! He seems to have taught the Northmen the desire to give.

Another financial reform of Breakspeare's was the introduction of Peter's Pence.

Now this question had been very often disputed, until finally some important evidence, produced by Spittler, settled it, and to-day there can hardly be two opinions about it. The present scope would hardly permit us to discuss it in detail, but to put the question briefly, it is certain that Peter's Pence was unknown in the North as late as in A.D. 1123. Sixty years later, however, in a *Liber Censuum*, drawn up by Albinus in 1183, there is the following entry: "Single houses giving a gold piece of Norwegian money" (quod singulae domus Norwegiae singulos dant denarios monetae ipsius

terrae"). Let us bear in mind the not unimportant fact of Norway's rare relations with Rome. We are thus naturally led to suppose that the introduction of Peter's Pence did occur during Breakspeare's legateship. Breyer, whose authority is most reliable, actually thinks that it was so, yet it is equally true that no specific mention of the fact stands in any chronicle.

We now approach a point in Breakspeare's reforms about which opinions have widely differed, *i.e.*, the sorely disputed question of clerical celibacy. Of all historians, Münter alone says Breakspeare had "enforced it" in the North, and later it was surmised that on his initiative it was also introduced into Sweden. Now that the priests did marry in Scandinavia is a well-established fact. In the old Christian Justice, the so-called "Eidswäthingslög," it is specifically stated that, at funerals, the place of honour must be given to the priest and "to his wife." Doubtless, Breakspeare did lay down certain regulations, and very likely restricted laxity where he found it. Norway was probably unacquainted with the Western views on this matter, whilst we must remember that the Northmen had frequent intercourse with Constantinople, where clerical celibacy, except in the case of religious, had never been prescribed. In Denmark the first prohibition of clerical marriages came about the year 1123—sent by Pope Calixt II after a Lateran council. Again Innocent II chose

an able Bernardine monk, by name of Martin Cibo, to go to Denmark in 1132 and regulate this matter according to the Roman canons. The real definition of the celibacy laws in Norway was made by the second Archbishop of Nidaros, Eystein, in 1164 at a council held in Bergen, when the Canon Law, the so-called "Guldfiödr," was radically revised, and it is said that clerical marriages were then "again" forbidden, thus implying a precedent which in all likelihood had been laid down nine years previously by Breakspeare. But even after this national synod the reform does not seem to have taken root, for barely thirty years afterwards, another Pope (Celestine III), was obliged to send a legate to the North (Censius in 1193) who insisted on the faithful keeping of the regulations laid down by Adrian "of the Blessed Memory," another reminiscence of Breakspeare's reforming energy.

There exists a curious tradition that "Nicholaus Cardinalis Catecheses scripsit ad populum Norwegiae et Sueciae" ("Cardinal Nicholas . . . wrote catechisms to the people of Norway and Sweden"). No M[illegible] is extant, and the above quotation from Alex[illegible]ler (*Hist. Eccl.* 17, p. 26) is referred to by Münter alone. The supposition in itself is not impossible, since it is evident that Breakspeare knew the Northern languages (at least two of them—Norse and Swedish), and he may have wished to leave to the Northmen a clear

exposition of the Catholic doctrine. Yet the question arises all too easily—where then did he write them? Hardly in Norway, where he stayed so little and where his numberless administrative schemes must have absorbed every minute of his time. When travelling? But in those days it afforded very few facilities for literary exertions of any kind—least of all, in a foreign tongue. In Rome—at the Lateran? But this fact could hardly have been passed unnoticed by his biographers. Boso, for one, would surely have instanced this as one more proof of his uncle's "unceasing care for his Northern children."

It may seem well-nigh incredible that all these numerous reforms, each having peculiar difficulties of its own, were completed within the short space of three or four months. We read in the chronicles that the autumn of 1152 found Breakspeare in Sweden, and this season begins early in the North. Obviously, the legate himself considered his mission in Norway entirely ended, since he was not a man to leave anything half-done, whilst we know that he never went back to Norway again.

Therefore, the first and the greater part of his legateship was over. He established the metropolitan see, he reformed other bishoprics, he reformed the Canon Law, he relieved the economical hardships of the clergy. His influence, as it were, swept all over the land and left indelible traces

both on the Church and the State in Norway. Centuries later it would be characterised as "one of the many attempts of the Roman Curia to get the rich North into its greedy clutches," but the utterances of these centuries were mercifully unborn when Breakspeare finished his mission in Norway. The Norwegians of the twelfth century felt nothing but gratitude, as we shall see later on (Chap. XV), in our portrayal of Adrian IV as he appears in the mediæval tradition of the North.

X

The Legate in Sweden and Denmark

X

THE LEGATE IN SWEDEN AND DENMARK

BREAKSPEARE took his farewell of "the grateful Norwegians" and "laden with many friendly presents" wended his way to the Swedish frontier. The news of his mission must have gone before him, and Swercus, the King of the Swedes, was well prepared to receive him.

Breakspeare was coming to Sweden with the same object as we have just seen him reach in Norway, *i.e.*, to establish a national metropolitan see. On his arrival there, however, the legate was compelled to admit that a Swedish archbishopric was—for the time being—a Utopian idea. Among the Swedes Breakspeare found no disputes to settle, neither was the country disturbed by any royal feuds, and yet the general conditions were much worse than in Norway. It was the everlasting question of racial rivalries—inevitable in all cases when the same territory happens to be occupied by two widely different peoples. In Sweden, the Suiars—or the Swedes proper—in the North, and the fierce quarrelling Gothlanders in the

South, were always glad to find incessant pretexts for continuous warring. It has been remarked not without a touch of grim humour, that in the twelfth century the only tie these two nations possessed in common was their discontent with the authority of Lund. Both felt it was disparaging to their national dignity to bend their heads under the foreign yoke.

Breakspeare realised the difficulties of the situation. Probably he may have seen from the beginning that the only solution would lie in the establishment of two metropolitans—one for the Swedes, another for the Gothlanders. It was quite obvious that a Swedish archbishop would find no favour with the Southerners, and *vice-versa*. A dual metropolitan was naturally out of the question. Yet—with his usual shrewdness—Breakspeare refrained from a hasty decision in the matter. Futile though the measure was, the legate called a national assembly at a place called Lynköping. He would give equal opportunities to the Swedes and the Gothlanders to express their views. He would listen to their opinions, and shape his decision accordingly. Both peoples were fully represented at this assembly. As soon as the metropolitan question was broached, "the angry fire of differences" broke out. They would not even agree about the site of the new archbishopric. The Swedes clamoured that Upsala should be chosen in preference to all others, whilst the

Gothlanders taunted them with their clinging to the pagan past, and insisted that one of their own towns, Skara, was the only fit spot. Breakspeare was quick to realise that the question could not be settled to the satisfaction of both parties. Therefore, he dismissed the synod. We do not know whether any other questions were raised at that assembly. Most likely, their noisy quarrellings prevented any reasonable discussion. Breakspeare had then already made his decision, though he was prudent enough not to communicate it to the nation. Sweden was to have no metropolitan of its own.[1] A chronicler quaintly remarks that Breakspeare did not announce his decision publicly—because he thought that a premature announcement might have ruined his further reforms in the Swedish Church. Certainly, they were most quarrelsome, those Swedes and Gothlanders, and even the royal authority seemed to have no importance for them.

Breakspeare determined to leave things as they were before his coming, *i.e.*, to let the Swedish Church remain under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Lund. Later this gave rise to the opinion that Breakspeare was influenced in his decision by Eskill, the then Archbishop of Lund. It was certainly in the interests of the latter that the

[1] The idea of a Swedish Archbishopric came to be finally realised in August 1164, when it was confirmed by a bull of Alexander III. A certain Stephen was the first Archbishop.

Swedish Church should remain under his authority, but, on the other hand, we know that Breakspeare met Eskill towards the very end of his mission after the Swedish question had been definitely settled. It is rather improbable that the legate did communicate with Denmark during his brief stay in Sweden. It is more likely that Breakspeare, who had weighed the matter very carefully, held that the so-called Lund solution was really the most workable under the circumstances. The newly elected Archbishop of Norway could not possibly take precedence before Lund, let alone the fact that his own hands were more than full.

It would almost seem as though Breakspeare's mission to Sweden proved to be a failure, and, taken from a certain point of view, it was, since he did fail to root out the national differences and pave the way to a common acceptance of *one* candidate. Yet, let it be asked in all fairness—could anyone be humanly able to do this ? All the more so because, as we shall see later, Breakspeare came totally unprepared for such a turn of events.

Yet, after the dismissal of the Lynköping Synod, Breakspeare's hands were not idle in Sweden. He consecrated St Henry of Upsala to be the bishop of that city,[1] and in general the legate fervently worked "for the moral welfare of the clergy." Briefly speaking, his reforms in Sweden were similar to those already carried out in Norway.

[1] Suhm tells us that Henry was an Englishman, *Hist.*, VI, 137.

We are told that he fought " for the liberty of the Church, restricted clerical marriages," introduced Peter's Pence and " wrought many things towards the establishment of peace "—" armis non portandis, et aliis ad salutem populi spectantibus " (" carrying no arms and others [probably reforms] tending to the good of the people.") With the King (Swerkus) Breakspeare was on very good terms and later defended him against the attacks of the Danish Sovereign. National ties bound him closely to the saintly Bishop of Upsala. It is not difficult to imagine that Breakspeare's English heart gladdened at the chance of speaking again his beloved English tongue. Doubtless, his intercourse with Henry somewhat relieved the bitterness of an unrealised mission.

But Breakspeare would not linger in Sweden. His presence was unnecessary, now that Henry virtually stood at the head of the Swedish Church. The legate therefore took farewell of the King and the bishops and left for Denmark—the last stage of his journey.

Now it is uncertain whether he let the Swedes know even then that he was going to leave them under the Archbishop of Lund. It may be that he did tell them, explaining that this mission was purely temporary, as it finally proved to be.

Breakspeare's visit to Denmark was one of pure courtesy. The Danish Church was sufficiently well organised at that time and did not really

need him. But the King was glad of an opportunity to do the honours to a papal legate, and the Archbishop of Lund would have been seriously injured had Breakspeare passed him over.

The legate's task in Denmark was one demanding a very skilful diplomatic touch. Eskill had to be reconciled to the loss of Norway. And Eskill was known to be proud and arrogant and even unwise in the past, when we remember his unfortunate tactics at the Danish national Synod in 1139. We do not quite know how Breakspeare approached this prelate, but he did it so successfully that Eskill, according to the chroniclers, was "politeness itself." On him Breakspeare bestowed the primacy of Sweden in lieu of the lost Norway. Eskill was to be styled by the title of "legati nati Apostolicae sedis" in the three Scandinavian kingdoms, and Breakspeare also promised him that he and his successors would always have the privilege of consecrating the Swedish archbishops and giving them the pallium. These privileges, however, were only promised by Breakspeare, and he had to get them specially confirmed by the Holy See, since evidently the Pope had not foreseen the possibility of an unrealised archbishopric in Sweden, and in this instance Breakspeare could not act on his own authority. The privileges were duly granted by Rome. In a brief of a later Pope (Innocent III to Absalon, Archbishop of Lund, dated November

1198), we find a reference to them. The Pope says that "ipse (*i.e.*, Adrianus) de confirmatione regni Suetiae cum fratrum suorum consilio et voluntate constituit" ("Himself [Adrian IV] had arranged this concerning the kingdom of Sweden—with the advice and consent of his brothers [cardinals].") Evidently Breakspeare, when Pope, confirmed this privilege once more.

On the whole it cannot be alleged that Eskill really lost much through the institution of a Norwegian metropolitan. Sweden was still his, and, morally, he still retained considerable influence over the episcopal elections in Norway. His "tact and politeness, cheerful spirits" (in spite of a curtailed patrimony) won him Breakspeare's friendship, which later came to be very valuable (see the chapter on Papacy). Doubtless the legate had expected great difficulties in "mollifying" the high-tempered Archbishop and was pleasantly surprised to find him "smooth and unruffled." One cannot help thinking that Eskill knew what he was about, sensing that ill-humour and discontent would hardly pay in the end.

With the establishment of a Norwegian metropolitan, and the more or less permanent settling of the Swedish question, the last hopes of the Hamburg archbishop were dashed to the ground. Never could he expect to regain his ancient jurisdiction over the three kingdoms of Scandinavia.

All throughout the legateship, Breakspeare appears to have taken no notice either of the archbishop himself or of his Northern claims. It may be that he did see the prelate on his way back to Rome, but nowhere do we find a record of it.

Before he had quite done with the North, Breakspeare was once more called upon to use his influence in the civil affairs of Denmark. Curiously enough, it so happens that Breakspeare's first and last acts in the North are identical in their purpose. On both occasions he had to plead the cause of peace.

Swerkus, King of Sweden, had a younger son named Jon, an ignorant, wild and dissipated youth. Once he took the pleasure of raiding the castle of his elder brother, Karl, and grossly insulted Karl's wife and her sister. The ladies were both Danish princesses, distantly related to the King of Denmark. The news of the outrage came to their kinsman, who resolved to avenge it. Sweyne was all the more angry because of an unfortunate precedent in the same family. He promptly decided to open hostilities against Sweden. Breakspeare tried to persuade him to give up the idea of fighting. The legate urged that the pretext was not weighty enough to cause the possibility of thousands of deaths. The King sulkily promised to follow Breakspeare's advice; and probably he would have done so, had the legate remained near him. But soon after Break-

speare's departure, the King saw fit to break his promise. His armies were ingloriously defeated in the wilds of Finland, and chroniclers, with a quaint significance, link this defeat to the broken promise.

XI

After the Legateship

XI

AFTER THE LEGATESHIP

ALL Northern reforms of Cardinal Breakspeare came to be duly confirmed by a bull of Anastasius IV, issued in 1159—evidently soon after the legate's return to Rome, as is witnessed by his signature attached to the bull—"Ego—Nicholaus Episcopus Albaniensis."

The bull is addressed to the newly consecrated primate of Norway. The Pope says that what his predecessor of the happy memory (Eugenius III) was unable to do because of his care for the whole Catholic Church "quod per seipsum universatis Ecclesiae cura obsistente non potuit," came to be fully and brilliantly accomplished by our brother Nicholas, a faithful and prudent servant, "tanquam fidelis servus et prudens." It is obvious that the results of the mission were magnificent, at least they were so considered at the Lateran. ". . . Multiplicatum in fructum studuit reportare." The Pope warmly comments on his having "fulfilled all the instructions of him who had sent him," *i.e.*, Eugenius III. He then enumerates by name all the provinces entrusted to the care of

the Norwegian archbishop and finally admonishes him and the clergy of Norway "to hold steadfastly by these constitutions and to obey the precepts of the Mother-Church in Rome"—("Successores autem tui ad Romanum Pontificem tantum recepturi donum consecrationis accedant et ei simili modo et Romanae ecclesiae subiecti semper existant." The general statutes of the Church are then explained, followed by a list of the days of obligation for Norway. Singularly among them stands St Olaf's day, the so-called "Olafmas."[1] The Pope concludes his bull with a few personal words to Jon Birgesson. He begs him "to remember what a great dignity had been bestowed on him and counsels him so to spend his days that his life may become an example to his subjects." "Studeat ergo tua fraternitas, plenitudine tantae dignitatis suscepta, ita strenue cuncta peragere quatenus morum tuorum ornamenta (this shows that the archbishop's personality was fully appreciated by Breakspeare), eidem valeant convenire. Sit vita tua subditis exemplum," and in conclusion, the pallium is conferred on Birgesson.

But the Pope's evident interest in the North did not confine itself to Norway. There was Sweden,

[1] Pontopiddan says in his Annals that St Thorwaldr's day was likewise obligatorily observed in Norway, but I have found no other reference except his own words. St Thorwaldr's, of course, might have been piously observed, yet much more likely in Iceland than in Norway.

too, where the legateship had reached lesser results. Breakspeare may have suggested to the Pope that the King of Sweden was bitterly disappointed that the national metropolitan was thus again left in abeyance, and that his disappointment was all the greater because he knew himself impotent to interfere with the Gothlanders. As a result, came an encouraging papal letter to the King of Sweden.[1] Anastasius reminded the King of Breakspeare's glorious works " which called you from darkness and the shadow of death into the admirable light, that you, being dead unto sin, might be vivified by him in Christ." The passage has a precious value all its own, setting out most graphically the spiritual worth of the legateship, its undying consequences in a country where, to the outward eye, the mission came to be but a miserable failure. The Pope insists on the Swedes remembering all the things Breakspeare was able to do amongst them—" liberty of your Churches," " statuta de libertate ecclesiarum vestrarum, armis non portandis, et aliis ad salutem populi spectantibus observetis." He gives them something to look back to in the legate's visit, even though they were temporarily deprived of their own metropolitan see. A really paternal letter this of Anastasius—not a single note of reproach—though he may have found fault with the Swedes for piling up obstacles in the way of ecclesiastical administration. Censure may come

[1] *M.P.L.*, 188, 1086.

later, but now he writes just as a father to a son with a sorely-wounded heart. And, significantly enough, the letter is addressed to the King, not to the bishops or the clergy.

On the whole, whatever may have been his feelings on the Swedish question, Breakspeare left the North with no heavy heart. At the head of each of the three Churches stood men whom he knew he could trust absolutely. Two of them held their office because he had chosen to call them. The third proved his worth by a hard test of a cruel disappointment he had endured " with a smiling countenance and a prayerful heart." Breakspeare knew he had nothing to fear from the erstwhile arrogant Archbishop of Lund, now entirely won over by the legate's gentleness. Men he thus left behind him were singularly fitted to carry on his great creative work in the Northern Church. He knew he could trust them not to slack, not to grow lax or weary. He knew the saintly Henry at Upsala could move mountains by his forceful and ardent intercession. He knew that the single-mindedness of Birgesson in Nidaros could gradually cement into one joined body the bishoprics of Norway and of the Islands. Finally, Breakspeare was not deceiving himself when he hoped that Eskill would from henceforth turn his gigantic influence to greater purposes and wider aims. Of one thing only we may be sure he knew nothing, and that was his own share in

the work. And here again let it be said that he would not have been himself had he known it.

The official bull of Anastasius IV was later followed by various privileges, granted to the Northern Church by Clement III, Innocent III, Gregory IX, Innocent IV and Clement IV.

Hardly a year passed since the legate's departure and Sigurd and Eystein again began quarrelling with Inge, their brother. The youth was compelled to defend himself, and in the civil war which ensued, both Sigurd and Eystein were slain (1157). Inge was left to reign in peace, but he did not enjoy it long, and died in 1161, " leaving a good memory behind him," which was a rare thing to say of most sovereigns in those days. Just towards the end of Inge's eventful reign, a chieftain, a certain Erling Ormsson, came into pre-eminence. He was a friend of Eystein, the second Archbishop of Nidaros. Birgesson, who was an aged man at the time of his consecration, died a few months previously, and Eystein, the King's chaplain, was elected metropolitan. His was a very strong personality, and he seemed admirably fitted for the hard task which was later to come in his way, when he had to stand up and defend the rights of the Church . . . and win them ultimately.

Inge's death left the country without a sovereign, since he had no heirs of his own. Again Norway rose in a tumult, torn asunder by several divergent

parties. In the Church alone were concentrated the elements of tranquillity.

Finally, a definite pretender emerged in the person of Haakon, known as the Broad-shouldered, then but a mere boy of fourteen. He was all but formally elected, when Erling's party put up a strong opposition. Erling desired the throne for his own son, Magnus who, on his mother's side, was the grandchild of the famous Sigurd, "The Crusader." Haakon's adherents wavered before the opposition of Erling's party. Norway had not forgotten "The Crusader." As a result, Haakon's party was defeated and the unfortunate youth soon met with his own death. Upon these proceedings a solemn national "Thing" was called at Bergen, presided by Erling Ormsson and duly blessed by Archbishop Eystein. Magnus was proclaimed king, and the archbishop's hands placed the crown on his youthful head. Then the King solemnly declared Norway to be the heritage of St Olaf. As a natural consequence of this, to St Olaf's successors—the bishops of Norway—would be given the right to reject any legitimate heir to the throne in case they held him to be "unworthy." [See the text of Magnus's oath below.] If the bishops should ever find themselves in disagreement about some particular candidate, the matter was to be decided by voting, but in most cases the ultimate decision rested with the archbishop, whose consent alone could stand

as a definite sanction. At the same time the King announced that the bishops were at liberty to elect anyone whom they regarded as fit " to guard the right of God and the laws of the land," and, upon this solemn oath, was he lawfully crowned as King of Norway.

The actual text of Magnus's oath is given below. Here we merely intend to elucidate its meaning. To say that by this oath, or rather, by its consequences, Magnus threw his country into an abject slavery to the Church, is to misunderstand its every word. Again, the oath was not " extorted " from Magnus because it is false to say that on no other conditions could he receive the crown. We remember that his election was preceded by a general " Thing "—a national gathering, a parliament—whose decisions were sacrosanct to every Norwegian. Anyone was entirely free to vote for or against him. If the country were determined to oppose him, no bishop in the land would have got him the votes. There were many vices in mediæval Norway, but electoral corruption was not one of them. Again, at a " Thing " the bishops alone would have been utterly powerless, nor could they run counter to its decisions. The very phrasing of the oath: " . . . and the laws of the land," stands as a conclusive proof that no detriment was wrought to the national interests.

The act of bestowing Norway to St Olaf and his successors had more meanings than one. It

aimed at a certain atonement, since the Christian traditions and principles were more than once outraged by the Norwegian sovereigns. It was unifying in that St Olaf stood as a common patron of the whole of Norway and no ruptures or divisions were seemly once the country was thus undividedly placed under his protection. Finally, as St Olaf stands as the first Christian legislator of Norway, it compelled the nation to think a little more of the observance of those very same laws.

Magnus thus began his reign, early disturbed by the invasion of the King of Denmark, Waldemar, who, as the chronicler says, " accepit Daniam et Sueciam " (" accepted Denmark and Sweden ") from the Emperor, and thought that Norway, too, was to be included in the heritage. Magnus's armies, however, soon disillusioned him, for he turned away from the Norwegian shores.

In the same year (1164), Hartwig, Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, made his last attempt at the restoration of Scandinavia to his jurisdiction, which attempt remained " frustra "—to use the terse expression of chroniclers. The Northern Churches were sufficiently strengthened to keep their own metropolitans, and in 1165 or 1164, Stephen, the first Swedish primate, was consecrated Archbishop of Upsala.[1]

[1] In 1185, Pope Lucius III, in a special " privilegium " defined and confirmed the authority of the Archbishop of Upsala. See *Migne, P.L.*, CCI, 1373.

This is the text of Magnus's Oath, given by Thorkelin, under the title of "Magni Erlingii litterae quibus Regnum Norwegiae Sancto Olafo et Metropolitanae Ecclesiae Nidarosiensi offert obligans se suosque successores, illud seu feudum accepturos, et priviligia hic inferta servaturos."[1] "Ego, Magnus, Dei Gratia, etc., etc., etc. . . . Quoniam communicato sapientorum consilio Dominatum et diadema Regni huius, invocato Spiritu Sancto, vestrae manus impositione . . . de manu Domini suscepimus . . . cui servire regnare est (this a touching reminiscence of the writings of Leo the Great) . . . Cum non sit potestas nisi a Deo . . . Sub eius Dominio . . . tanquam suus vicarius . . . In perpetuae quoque subiectionis testimonium, hoc pro me et pro omnibus meis Catholicis successoribus privilegium huic Metropolitanae Ecclesiae concedo et literis meis sigillatis confirmo, ut post vocationem meam Regale diadema et meum, quod hodierna die sacro altari in confirmationem offero, et omnium mihi succedentium praesenti delegetur Ecclesiae." ("Letters of Magnus Erlingsson by which he offers the kingdom of Norway to St Olaf and the metropolitan Church of Nidaros, binding himself and his successors to accept the same in fief and to observe the privileges herein contained." "I . . . etc. . . . Since . . . having invoked the Holy Spirit, we have received the crown of this

[1] Thork., *Diplom. Arna-Magn.*, II, 8.

realm from the hand of the Lord [by the imposition of your hands], whom to serve is to . . . reign. . . . For there is no power except of God. . . . Under His dominion and that of His vicar, in testimony of perpetual subjection, I concede this privilege to the metropolitan Church for myself and for all my Catholic successors, and confirm by my sealed letters that, after my death, this royal crown which I offer to-day before the Holy Altar, be bestowed to this aforementioned Church."

POPE ALEXANDER III.

Adrian's successor.

(*From a print in the British Museum.*)

Facing p. 149.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI

The Foundation of the Upsala Archbishopric

Pope Alexander III appointed Stephen of Upsala to the Archbishop and Primate of Sweden. The Papal Bull, confirming the election, laid stress on the privileges of the Archbishop of Lund, as is seen from the following words: "Statuimus autem ut sicut tu de concessione et mandato nostro consecrationis munus a venerabili fratre nostro Lundensi archiepiscopo suscepisti, ita et successores tui, ab eo et a successoribus eius consecrationem debeant absque ulla contradictione recipere et tanquam proprio primati obedientiam et reverentiam exhibere." ("We therefore appoint that as thou by our mandate hast received the gift of consecration from our venerable brother, the Archbishop of Lund, likewise must thy successors receive consecration from him and his successors, and show him obedience and reverence like unto their own primate.")[1]

It will be remembered that this privilege was promised to the Archbishop of Lund by Breakspeare and received due confirmation from Pope Eugenius III. Alexander III was but following the policy of his two predecessors.

[1] *M.P.L.*, CC, 301-03.

XII

Back in Rome

XII

BACK IN ROME

WE do not quite know what route was chosen by Breakspeare for his return journey, but a chance remark of Saxo's (" The king of Denmark accompanied him (the legate) to the frontier "), leads us to infer that Breakspeare's way home lay through the dark green forests and the yellow plains of Germany. Possibly he may have yearned to go by sea, and to cross once more his beloved England, but this was not to be, since journeying by land demanded much less time, whilst Breakspeare's presence was urgently needed in Rome. Hence, with his habitual clinging to duty, Breakspeare chose the quickest way to Italy and waived aside what regrets he may have felt about England. The road he thus decided to take was the " Romávegr " of Nicholas Saemudarsson, and very likely a few Northern pilgrims may have companioned the legate on his return journey.

Friends without number did Breakspeare leave behind him, and many rich presents did they give him for himself as well as for the Pope. And

thus " he reached Rome in health and in joy," as William of Newburgh quaintly chooses to put it " Roman cum salute et gaudio reversus est."

It was but natural that Breakspeare's coming back should be " joyous," for no one doubted but that his difficult mission was accomplished " most brilliantly and fruitfully " (" quo ille officium in barbario nationibus per annos aliquot sapienter et strenue administrato "). Can we not picture his entering Rome ? Perhaps it had been feared that he would not return ! Rome fully realised the numberless perils of the legateship. For " ad gentem ferocissimam " was he sent, and there they saw him back, and heard the stupendous news about " the most ferocious peoples of the North " actually bent down to Christ's laws ! This man did it ! And Rome listened to the story of the three proud princes " submitting themselves " to his judgment, was told about the proceedings of that tumultuous and dangerous Synod at Lynköping, about the victory over the difficult Archbishop of Lund, about the wisdom and modesty and self-effacement shown by the legate in every act, and Rome revered him. And be it marked here that what we know of Breakspeare makes us suspect that he had no share in " the brilliant and diligent " reports of the mission. Rather, it would be entirely eliminated. He had indeed done all those big and wonderful things in the North, and his honesty and well-balanced judgment compelled

MAP OF SCANDINAVIA IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

The inscriptions are partly in Spanish.

ITALY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

him to admit that they were big—yet he had done them as no individual, but as a papal legate—by virtue of his office and " by the grace of the Holy Spirit." The great man who had sent him was really instrumental in the forging of spiritual links between the North and the centre of Christendom. . . . And here we should probably touch on the one shadow which crossed the sunny paths of Breakspeare's return to Rome. His benefactor so gracious, his friend so intimate, his father so affectionate, the saintly Eugenius, was not there to welcome him ! He had not the joy of telling the story of his legateship to the one man whose mind had grasped its necessity, whose wisdom had fashioned its realisation. And well can we believe that, as soon as he had shaken off the dust of travelling, he went to kneel in prayer at Eugenius' tomb !

In the old pagan days Rome loved to welcome those men—strong of will and strong of limb—who would spend their lives in making her name renowned throughout the world ! Rome's streets would echo with the proud ring of the conquerors' feats ! Rome's public places would be overcrowded to see them crowned with laurel-wreaths, Rome's pagan temples would tremble with the vehement chants of thanksgiving ! For they were those who conquered distant lands, subdued barbaric nations, carried the Latin culture—pagan as it was—unto the uttermost parts of the world,

and they did so for the sake of the one city they loved most.

To the Christian Rome Breakspeare returned in no such wise! The tribute of no conquered lands could he lay at Rome's feet! He brought no barbaric slaves in his retinue, but was not his story greater than of all those who had come before him to receive their wreaths of laurels? His was a conquest reaching beyond the standards of gold and silver, a conquest of spirit, of truth, all the more triumphant because it was so hard, as Adam of Bremen says: "inaccessible did the North stand."

We can imagine him scaling the steps of the Lateran palace—ready to meet Pope Anastasius IV, ready to give him an account of "the things which had been entrusted unto him." Most humbly he admitted his failure in Sweden! Would that it had pleased God the archbishopric were founded! And he would also tell the Pope that there were many other things to do. He had accomplished but so very few! The Northern Churches were surely in need of further strengthening. The Pope, as we have seen above, confirmed all of Breakspeare's reforms. The Papal letter to the Swedish king (see the preceding chapter) must have comforted Breakspeare! So the Pope did not think that the Swedish task had ended in absolute failure!

And before Rome had done rejoicing over the

legate's return, Anastasius IV died " all suddenly," as Snorri tells us, and " all the people of Rome would have Cardinal Nicholas for Pope," and he was consecrated under the name of Adrian IV. Another chronicle mentioning Breakspeare's accession, says : " Defuncto Papa Anastasio, successit Nicholaus, propria industria promerente " (" . . . after the death of Pope Anastasius . . . Nicholas succeeded . . . by the merit of his own diligence.") Doubtless this implies that Breakspeare had none of the so-called party influence to promote his election. He was chosen solely for his merits, known to " all the people of Rome," and we will remember that in precisely the same way did Pope Eugenius single him out.

We can imagine how glad was England to hear the news ! And what about the North, which he hed left scarcely a year previously ? Their joy was all the greater because they remembered his promise of friendship : " and he declared ever afterwards that he was the greatest friend of Norway."

Breakspeare, now Adrian IV, never forgot the North—in spite of the fact that his numberless duties made such heavy demands on his time, and that the whole period of his pontificate, as we shall see presently, glided in no smooth waters. Yet ever would he remember that the Northmen had a particular claim on him. Their Pope and father was he, indeed, but also their friend, and with his

usual graciousness he saw to it that nothing interfered with this friendship. We can well believe that the number of the Northern Jerusalem pilgrims, wending their way through Rome, had increased since the middle of the twelfth century. The Northmen had then their personal and intimate link with the Eternal City, "the kind Cardinal" who came "to bring them peace and strengthened order in their land." And now, though he was Pope ("Pave") and always busy and often worried, he would never be too busy to see his Northern children. For them he always had a spare minute and lit it with his gracious smile and sweetened it with his own touchingly fresh memories of the North. And he would ask them knowing intimate questions, perhaps even in their own language, ask them those things no alien could understand, no stranger really care about! He would make them feel that neither distance nor his exalted rank made any difference in his interestedness in the North, that the green and blue and white images of their country landscapes still glimmered in his memory, that he was still able and glad to shoulder their national burdens, to share their national gladnesses, to sympathise with their national sorrows! How they loved him for it! It is Torfaeus who tells us that such was Breakspeare's benevolence towards the Northmen that "iam Pontifex fuisse dicitur, ut etiam gravissimis rebus intentus, eos (the Northmen)

advenientes ad colloquium admitteret, praeteritis quoque aliis, quoties id poscerent," or, to use Snorri's version, " when he was Pope, he had never any business however important to settle with any other people, but he would break it off to speak with the Northmen who desired to see him." And he had " business'es " without number !

Solicitous for the needs of the Northern pilgrims, Adrian would not at the same time forget the buildings he had begun in their country. He directed that " artificers and other craftsmen " should be sent to Norway to complete the erection of the Cathedral at Hamar and the Cloister at Nidaros. Snorri says that these men came from England, but other authorities allege that they were sent direct from Rome, and the latter theory is more probable.

On the whole there is but very little evidence about Adrian's communication with the North. We have to rely on the chroniclers for all information. Adrian's own correspondence contains no letters addressed either to Norway or Sweden, and the only reference to Denmark is in his epistle to the German Emperor concerning the imprisonment of Eskill, Archbishop of Lund. On the other hand, it seems hardly credible that Adrian should have had no correspondence at all either with the bishops or the kings of the North. It is true that his epistles are not very humerous and that what communication he did have with the

North may have passed through the hands of those Norwegian pilgrims who had, as we are told, such an easy access unto him. It is not likely that Adrian—all through the four and a half years of his pontificate—should have left unattended the administration of Canon Law in Norway which he had done so much to reform and to regulate. From the letters of his successors we shall see that this was a very thorny question in the Norwegian history. Could it then be possible that no difficulties arose in Adrian's time, and that his influence in the Norwegian Church retained all its vitality—in spite of the distance ?

Whatever be the cause, we possess no personal document of Adrian's to throw light on his subsequent relations to the North. It is only in the Northern tradition itself that we see the brilliantly-coloured portrayal of their legate and friend.

But there is a very touching letter of Adrian's addressed to Hartwig—the ambitious Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. His hopes to regain authority over the Scandinavian Churches were finally crushed after the legateship, and doubtless the prelate did feel "most profoundly injured." Breakspeare either would not or could not see him on the return journey to Rome (at least there is no evidence that he did) and this probably meant another injury to the proud archbishop. Towards the very end of his pontificate (in Feb. 1159), Adrian sent him a consoling *privilegium*, thus

defining the area of his jurisdiction : " Immunitates praeterea et terminos, . . . videlicet ab Albia flumine deorsum usque ad Mare Oceanum et sursum per Sclavorum provinciam usque ad fluvium Pene, et per eius decursum usque ad Mare Orientale." (" Immunities and boundaries . . . viz., from the River Alba unto the Ocean, through the land of the Slavs unto the river Pene, and along its course unto the Eastern Sea ").[1]

And, even after Adrian's death, Rome could not be a strange city to the Northmen—for it held his tomb, and they loved his memory.

[1] *M.P.L.*, t. 188, 1617.

XIII

The Papacy

XIII

THE PAPACY

BREAKSPEARE'S election, so ardently desired "by the people of Rome," was probably very much against his own will. John of Salisbury, who so intimately shared the Pope's friendship, had every reason to ask: "who would have the ambition to be the servant of all?" ("Quis ergo . . . servum servorum esse ambigit?") And, in Adrian's own opinion, no one was so miserable as a sovereign pontiff, whose office implied hardships innumerable. (". . . Romano pontifice nemo miserabilior est, conditione eius nulla miserior."[1] Thus frequently would Pope Adrian think of the once enjoyed quiet in the backyards of St Alban's! And St Rufus's, where even the angry murmurings of the canons could not penetrate into the dim choir and break the soft harmony of chanted offices! Ah, how happy he would have been to spend his days—far from the disturbing noises of the world, safely garrisoned within the prayerful stillness of a cloister! It is again John of Salisbury who bears witness to this occasional moodiness

[1] John of Salisbury, *Pol.* VIII, 23.

in Adrian (" . . . dum superest, ipsum interroga et crede experto "), and we seem to understand why Breakspeare chose the following words for his motto : " Oculi mei semper ad Dominum."

He had not had any time for rest after his Northern labours. Black clouds were gathering on the political horizon of Europe, and St Peter's successor could not hold himself aloof from any troubles of the Catholic peoples. In the North the disturbing elements were centered round the German Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, whose chief ambition lay in the conquest of the whole world. His were the daring dreams of a world-embracing empire united under his lofty sceptre, subject unto the laws of his utterance. The North of Italy stood first in Barbarossa's scheme of conquests. He was preparing his big assault on Italy at the time of Breakspeare's accession.

When Adrian looked Southwards, he found but little to console his peace-loving heart. The fierce William I of Sicily showed himself pronouncedly hostile towards the Church. And Rome itself was dangerously unquiet, stirred by the rebellious preaching of Arnold of Brescia, whilst the Roman Senate vaguely murmured against Breakspeare's election . . . probably because he was a foreigner.

Thus—from the very beginning the Pope found his hands more than full.

The Roman question came first, brought to a perilous crisis by the open violence of Arnold's

satellites, who brutally assaulted and injured a cardinal. Adrian then placed the city under an interdict, which measure resulted in the subsequent expulsion of Arnold and his clique.

The situation in Sicily was rapidly growing worse. Manuel, the Byzantine Emperor, incited the half-Greek population to rebel against William. The latter, finding himself in an embarrassed position, repented of his former animosity towards the Church, and sent a reconciliatory embassy to Adrian. But the Pope thought fit not to meet these friendly advances. He preferred to open negotiations with Frederick Barbarossa. When William heard that the Pope had refused to listen to his envoys, his fury knew no bounds, and he rapidly invaded the southern parts of the papal territory. Adrian lost no time in passing excommunication on him, whilst his forces were driven back by the armies of the German Emperor.

Soon after that Barbarossa entered Rome. The Pope welcomed him " as his son and friend " and with his own hands crowned him at St Peter's. The Romans, however, chose to take a violent dislike to the Germans, and much blood was shed by either side in the narrow streets of Rome. Finally, the Romans were defeated, and taught " the bitterness of the German steel." Adrian, horrified at the German cruelties, remonstrated with their Emperor, but Barbarossa is said not to have been very gracious in this instance. How-

ever, when it came to his leaving Italy, he parted good friends with the Pope.

The Sicilian question now once again occupied Adrian's mind. Things were getting difficult, even though Manuel the Greek was still approaching him—with a cunning courtesy—offering his aid and support. It is recorded that Byzantium also broached the Church Reunion question, but quite resultlessly.

Adrian was listening to Manuel's proposals, whilst William of Sicily, chafing under his excommunication, once more endeavoured to make peace with the Pope and once more was rejected. In revenge, William did not merely attack the papal territories, but marched straight into Apulia, then occupied by the Greeks, and crushed their forces into nothingness. As a result, Adrian was robbed of his sole support in the south, and, with the Barbarossa army in the far distance, he stood practically alone, since Manuel's help was now hardly to be expected. The Pope was thus literally driven to come to terms with William of Sicily. Their negotiations were eventually expressed in the famous Benevento Treaty in 1156. Adrian recognised the territorial rights which his predecessors had denied to the Sicilian Normans, whilst William, on his part, did homage to the Pope.

Then followed a brief spell of relative peace, and Adrian returned to the Lateran there to busy

himself with the affairs of St Peter's patrimony. But he was not given much time to purchase new lands and build Churches, for the German Emperor soon began making trouble again.

As we have said, they first parted friends, but their friendship did not last long. It was rudely shaken by the Emperor's second marriage, which the Pope considered invalid. In 1156 Barbarossa married "en secondes noces" Beatrice Reinholdt, daughter of the Burgundy Count. The Pope was displeased with this marriage, since he held that Frederick had illegally separated himself from his first wife. Frederick, irritated by the Pope's attitude, accused him of disloyalty to the Constance Treaty by his agreement at Benevento. To annoy Adrian still further, the Emperor vented his fury on the aged Eskill, Archbishop of Lund, who was passing through his lands, returning home from a visit to Rome. The old prelate was roughly seized by the imperial orders and "most vilely imprisoned." Adrian sent a dignified protest to Barbarossa, but the latter chose to take no notice of it, and the papal envoys were bidden to return "whence they had come."

Finally, Adrian appealed to the German bishops, and these prevailed on the Emperor to release Eskill. Barbarossa yielded, but with an utter lack of grace, and threatened to invade Italy again. Henceforth, what remained of the friendship between Adrian and him was a mere pretence,

though the Pope used to the utmost his diplomatic skill to prevent open friction.

In 1158 Barbarossa again descended into Italy. "He could not rest with Italy unconquered." The North gave him no welcome. He laid siege to Milan, and after a courageous struggle, the proud city fell. Yet the other *pótestàs* of Northern Italy were determined not to give in. The Pope, too, joined the cities of the North. Brescia and Piacenza entered the alliance "against the German Invader." William of Sicily resolved to join in, and Adrian sent him "a banner of the Blessed Peter." But he was spared to see the Germans again near him, since, before Barbarossa's armies moved southwards from the conquered Milan—a sudden illness came upon Adrian, and he "went to God," "ad Deum migravit" in the little city of Anagni where he had gone to negotiate with the leaders of the Northern Alliance.

Rome mourned for him, and the whole Catholic world "wept most bitter tears," and, as John of Salisbury says, "none sorrowed so much over his death as England who gave him birth." Thus, before we go any further with our story of him, we must say a word or two of his English policy.

Adrian had Henry II to deal with, and Henry was just as arbitrary as Barbarossa in ecclesiastical matters. The first differences arose about the so-called Battle Abbey. On the site of Hastings the Conqueror had erected an Abbey, and the

HENRY II. KING OF ENGLAND.

(From a coloured drawing in the British Museum. Royal MS., 14 c. VII. f. 7.)

Facing p. 170.

monks were specially asked to pray for all the fallen. William endowed the Abbey and gave it certain privileges which were absolutely unprecedented and rather detrimental to the authority of the local ordinary, who happened to be Bishop of Chichester. Now, after the Conqueror's death, the bishops would refuse to acknowledge those privileges, which, as they alleged, "severely encroached on the episcopal jurisdiction." The abbots, in their turn, would insist on keeping those privileges as their integral right, and thus serious differences ensued. Finally, the Battle Abbey case was laid before Pope Eugenius III, who pronounced in favour of the bishops, and Adrian, when he came to deal with it, fully shared his predecessor's views on this point. The abbot, Walter by name, dissatisfied with the papal decision, brought the case to Henry, who, as would be expected, defended his rights. Adrian censured the King, but their relations never came to an open breach, and Henry sought the Pope's sanction and advice for his proposed expedition to Ireland. The Pope believed that the leaven of Norman culture might prove as beneficial in Ireland as it did in so many countries, and therefore he gave his sanction in the famous bull "Laudabiliter."

This incident brings us face to face with a very human touch in Adrian's personality. In the embassy, despatched by Henry to Rome, was

Robert of Gorham, the eighteenth abbot of St Albans. It might have been supposed that the Pope would show no particular graciousness to a superior of St Albans, where, as a youth, he had been judged so harshly and rejected so hastily and on the whole unkindly! This would seem all the more probable when we remember that Breakspeare had paid no visit to St Alban's when passing through England on his way to the North. Whatever may have been his earlier feelings—as a Pope—Adrian remembered no wrong. The same graciousness of manner, which won the difficult Archbishop of Lund and poured peace into the turbulent lives of the Northmen, came forward to greet the Abbot of St Albans, as a son, as a countryman, as an envoy from his ever beloved Motherland. And, if we know Breakspeare at all, we feel no astonishment when reading that "he granted privileges to St Albans and freed the Abbey from all episcopal authority."

And now he was dead.[1] Rome clamoured that his body should be brought back and given a magnificent burial within her walls. Frequently would she misunderstand that English Pope, and as frequently would her senate rebel and murmur against his austere rule, but now that he lay dead, she knew his greatness. And "Adrian was brought to Rome, and buried there with a great

[1] Matthew of Paris and others date his death, A.D. 1159.

pomp," "all the cardinals and imperial ambassadors being present."

Yes, Rome mourned for him—and if we are to turn to John of Salisbury, his death "perturbed all the peoples and nations of the Christian faith, but it has stirred our England which gave him birth with grief still more bitter . . . and has watered our country with more abundant tears" . . . (and those shed in the far North were doubtless not to be numbered?) "His death was a cause of sorrow to all good men," and John adds so quaintly "but most of all to me." [1]

Yes, England and the North must indeed have mourned him, for one claimed him as her son—the other as "her real father in God's Word." Little wonder that his place of rest became a dearly loved pilgrimage to the English and the Northmen, who thought of him "as a saintly man with a big heart—come to lift their burdens, and share their troubles and teach them the ways of peace."

[1] *John of Salisb., Metal.*, IV, 32. I quote the translation from Mgr. Mann's *History of the Popes*, vol. IX.

XIV

Later Echoes

XIV

LATER ECHOES

WRONG would it be to say that Breakspeare's legateship was finished when he left Denmark behind him, nor was its heritage gone with his death.

The Northern question, as we may call it, was ever present in the mind of Adrian's successor. In the voluminous correspondence of Alexander III we find no less than seventeen letters addressed to the kings and bishops of the North. And it was under Alexander III—as we have seen above (Chap. XI)—that "the Swedish incompleteness" came to its end with the establishment of the Upsala archbishopric, though the Pope was careful to tread in Breakspeare's steps and to preserve intact the privileges of the Lund see.

Breakspearian influences also flicker in a brief of Clement III (*circa* 1189), when he called upon the Norwegian clergy "restraining them from the use of arms." Involuntarily are we compelled to turn to the pacifying laws, uttered by the legate, who "was come to bring peace into our land."

But ecclesiastical jurisdiction long continued to

be a matter of dispute in the North. Clerical rights seemed to be constantly infringed by laity, and finally the bishops begged the Pope (Celestine III) to redress this wrong. One or two instances were given when the procedure of episcopal elections was again made subject to the royal prerogatives—contrary "to the canonical institutions laid down by Cardinal Nicholas." [1] Again—although Breakspeare had established special courts for the administration of Canon Law, it looked as though ecclesiastical cases were brought for trial before secular judges. Finally, the functions of the three archidiaconates, attached to the metropolitan see, were in danger of becoming sheer sinecures, because of the constant encroachments on the part of civil authorities. The Pope sent an indignant reply to the North.[2] He reminds them of the glorious reforms of Adrian: "Quod canonicas institutiones Adriani papae . . . quibus tres archidiaconates in ecclesia vestra distinxit, per laicos iurisdictiones conquerimini ecclesiasticas exerceri. . . ."

Celestine expressly forbids any lay interference in ecclesiastical legislation, saying that such matters ought to be "alienae" to the laity: "cum ecclesiastice dignitates et spiritualis iurisdictio a

[1] Like, for instance, the election of Archbishop Eystein in 1161.

[2] See Thorkelin, *Diplom. Arna-Magu.*, II, 17, and also in Migne, *P.L.*, CCVI, 1159.

SEAL OF ADRIAN IV.

(*From a Bull in the British Museum.*) *See further.*

Facing p. 178.

laicorum personis debeant esse alienae!" Furthermore, the Pope "mirari non sufficit" ("cannot wonder sufficiently") that the canonical constitutions of Adrian "of the happy memory" should be thus suffered to fall into neglect! Had they then forgotten all the innumerable labours and hardships and sufferings endured by the legate, for the reforming of their Church? If not, how could they tolerate such a condition of things? Celestine concludes with a strongly expressed desire to do away with what he calls "detestabile vitium," and commands that no lay person should sit in judgment in ecclesiastical courts, or have clerical cases brought before him: "auctoritate presentium distinctius inhibemus, ne aliquis laicus in diocesi vestra ecclesiasticam iurisdictionem exerceat, vel causas audiat, vel definiat, quae iudicio exigunt ecclesiastico terminari." (*Ibid.*) ("And by the present authority we distinctly forbid that any lay person in your diocese should exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or hear or define cases which appertain to ecclesiastical judgment alone.")

Difficult times came to Norway, when King Sverrir waged war against the Church and the archbishop. It almost looked then as though St Olaf and Bishop Thorwaldr and Sigurd the Crusader and King Magnus Erlingsson had vanished from the Norwegian history. But the strife "ended in a royal peace with the Church,"

as we shall see presently, and Innocent III wrote an encouraging letter to the valiant primate of Norway.[1]

All later Popes were careful to preserve Breakspeare's wise policy concerning the Archbishopric of Lund. Its position remained practically unchanged, although Sweden had its own primate. Still the Archbishop of Lund was styled as " legatus natus apostolice sedis " and maintained certain privileges in the Swedish Church. Eskill's successor in this see was the famous Absalon—formerly Bishop of Roskilde—thus portrayed in Arnold's chronicle: " vir religiosus et magni consilii summe discretionis et praecipue honestatis " (" a religious man, of great counsel—full of discretion and honesty ").[2] Under him, we are told, the " discordantes " bishops of all Denmark were brought into " peace and concord." Absalon wielded a very great influence on the Scandinavian Churches, and his piety and honesty were well known in Rome. To him Innocent III wrote, confirming the arrangement made by " Adrian of the happy memory," to the effect that the Lund Archbishops should always retain their primacy over the kingdom of Sweden.[3]

[1] The King . . . " qui . . . contra sanctiones canonicas assumptus ad eos fortius in illis desaeviat, qui in ordinatione ipsius statuta canonum non servarunt."

[2] Arnoldi, *Chronica Slavorum*, M.G.S.S., XXI, 192.

[3] " Et felicis memoriae Adriani Papae antecessoris nostri vestigiis inhaerentes, quod ipse de confirmatione regni Suetiae cum fratrum.

This Archbishop Absalon, an energetic builder of churches in Denmark and Sweden, was truly a "vir religionis amator," for he erected a Cistercian Monastery at Sora, and there, having settled the affairs of his Church ("ordinatis autem ecclesiae suae rebus") he came to his last day, in the expression of the chronicler, "diem clausit extremum."

Absalon stands as one of the greatest mediæval churchmen in the North. Honest, peaceful, devout, fervently zealous for the welfare of his archdiocese, he ever strove to follow in Breakspeare's steps, himself becoming "a peacemaker."

Soon after Absalon's death, a change for the better came to Norway. King Sverrir, who for years had waged most bitter feud against the Church, was dying. On his death-bed he gave an extraordinary advice to his son, Haakon (*circa* 1203) actually urging him "to make peace with the Church." ("... filii patriae turbis a clero motis exhaustae." What moved the dying king to ask

suorum consilio et voluntate constituit, nos etiam firmum et illibatum perpetuis temporibus decernimus permanere. Constituit enim quod Lundensis Archiepiscopus, qui pro tempore fuerit, super regnum illud primatum semper obtineat, et ordine quo subsequitur debeat et praesse." (See p. 133.) Innocent's letter leads us to infer that the Lund privilege was confirmed by Adrian, when he was Pope (note "papae"—not the usual "tunc legatus"), and probably he arrived at his decision after taking counsel with the cardinals—"cum fratrum suorum consilio." Unfortunately, there exists no correspondence relating to the subject.

[1] Thorkelin, *Dipl. Norw.*, II, 18.

such a promise of his son? Surely nothing but repentance, and, yet, we are told, that the old king was reminiscent of "Cardinal Nicholas," and such memories could not but lead him to thoughts of "peace," which the "good" Cardinal had brought into Norway, and which he, King Sverrir, was so keen to destroy! Thus, taking his father's advice, Haakon solemnly promised "to make peace with the Church, as was appointed by Cardinal Nicholas, and sworn to by the three kings, Inge, Eystein and Sigurd, and later by Magnus Erlingsson." The old Sverrir then died in peace, and his son faithfully kept the promise.

Thus, after fifty years, we see Breakspeare's mission again instrumental in bringing peace to the country—once more exhausted by the royal strifes.[1]

The privileges of the Norwegian primate were once more confirmed by Pope Gregory IX in his correspondence with Sigurd, Archbishop of Nidaros. Both letters of Gregory's are dated 1237.[2] One

[1] This is the actual text of Haakon's oath (in Old Norse) taken from Thorkelin, *Dipl. Arna. Magn.*, II, 18. ". . . ok allre Konunglegre tüghn efter pui sem skipade Nikulaf Cardinalis ok peir Konungar jaattado ok suoro Oystain, Sigurdr, ok Ingi ok bref Oysteins Konungs vattar. Ok Magnus Konungr stadfesti ok so sialfr fader minn med sinu brefe ok so saem aeidar paeirra vatta. . . ." (". . . Make peace with the Church—as was appointed by Cardinal Nicholas . . . as was sworn to by the three brothers—Sigurd, Eystein and Inge and also by King Magnus in his letters. . . .")

[2] Unger, *Diplom. Norw.*, II, 17.

of them is evidently written in reply to an archiepiscopal petition, as is seen from the Pope's words: "tuis iustis postulationibus grato concurrentes assensu" ("concurring, by free assent, with your just demands.") Gregory confirmed all the "libertates et immunitates," made by "Nicholaus, tunc apostolice sedis legatus" by virtue of a mandate from the Apostolic See. It is obvious that these privileges were either questioned by royal authority, or, maybe disputed by the then Archbishop of Lund, and Gregory IX thought fit to settle the question by his personal letter.

Another letter of Gregory's to Sigurd throws interesting light on Breakspeare's reforms. The Pope speaks of clerical marriages in the North: "quod Adrianus, P.P. tunc Episcopus Albancensis, dum in partibus illis (Norway) legationis officio fungeretur, hoc fieri (sc., sacerdotes matrimonia contrahere) permisisset" ("that Adrian—then Bishop of Albano—acted as a legate in those lands [Norway and Sweden], permitted this to be done [*i.e.*, clerical marriages].") It would therefore appear that the allegation about Breakspeare forbidding the clergy to marry is untrue, although, on the other hand, it is sufficiently well known that Breakspeare's views on the matter were absolutely Western, and what concessions he may have made in the North were dictated by purely local conditions.

XV

Adrian IV in the Tradition of the North

XV

ADRIAN IV IN THE TRADITION OF THE NORTH

IT is to the Scandinavian history that we must turn for a fully coloured portrait of Breakspeare. His legateship, so faithfully recorded by Northern chroniclers, possesses a definite spiritual value all its own—superseding, as it were, the visible structure of his administrative reforms. Let us remember that Cardinal Nicholas stands as the first apostolic representative in the Northern Church. Others there were who followed in his trek, but none who can be said to have equalled him. To Norway he came, because his "honestas ac prudentia" ("honesty and prudence"), were "cognitae" ("known"), and so brilliantly did he display his abilities that Breyer hardly erred when calling him "the most remarkable personality in history."

It has been alleged by some historians[1] that Breakspeare's legateship marked the increase of ecclesiastical authority in Norway much at the expense of royal power, that he had fettered "the

[1] Among others, by Torfaeus.

free Northern Christianity with the heavy chains of Rome," that " he had stemmed the progress of Northern religious thought," and many other similar things.

Elsewhere we have sketched the beginnings of Northern Christianity. Here let this much be said that Breakspeare gave a synthesis to the early missionary labours of Norwegian Christian kings. Norway was badly in need of such a synthesis. The development of Christian doctrines and practices in Norway was not only non-systematical, but rather inconsistent. Their notion of external unity in the Church was one of the haziest. Their very acceptance of Christ's laws involved no wholesale rejection of some strongly pagan traditions. The Christian kings of Norway had worked towards that aim, and had worked nobly, but even they, in a subconscious way, were influenced by the earlier workings of the Scandinavian mind, were constantly confronted with problems they could not humanly cope with. And later, under the alien jurisdiction of the Hamburg-Bremen archbishops, the Norwegian Church fared but little better.

Then Breakspeare came.

Now it would surely be wrong to assert that with him only did the Northern Church have its beginning. He came not to plant, but to water the seed. Also to weed out the tares of those ancient un-christian traditions. His " watering,"

if we may so call it, resulted in the Northern Church being placed in its rightful position. He was the first to strengthen her hitherto little known influence, and, finally (and probably this is his greatest achievement) he succeeded in bringing the Northern Christianity out of its unnatural aloneness by putting it into the closest possible touch with the wide current of Christian culture from the West. And if it be alleged that in this he acted purely as a Roman Christian, let us not forget that in the twelfth century this was the only indisputable criterion of ecclesiastical oneness. Gustav Vasa and the fathers of Northern Protestantism were not there to argue the point with the legate.

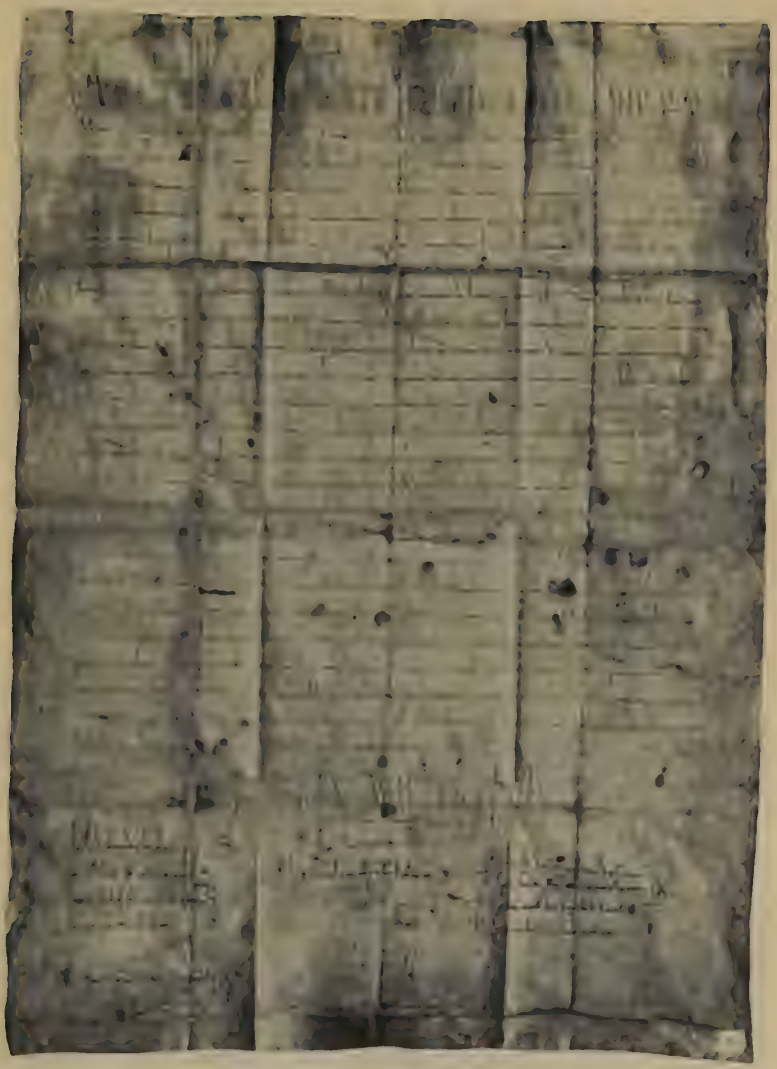
As we have already seen, the task was achieved in spite of some external incompleteness—even in spite of later discrepancies.

Perhaps the fact that Breakspeare came to be thus gloriously niched in the Norwegian history is due to the very difficulties of the mission. For the clearest-minded men in Norway were conscious of pagan elements in their midst. They would ride Eastwards—to the Blessed Land "trod by the Sacred Feet," and hope that results of their expeditions might little by little eradicate the deeply-grafted paganism. And the latter, against which St Olaf had fought tooth and nail—and which Breakspeare, too, had to encounter—was well-nigh unconquerable in its weird latency. It

did not go and dwell in the market towns of the land, but would rather hide itself in the gloomy forests, potent because unreachable. The battling was not finished when the legate's retinue left the country.

Nevertheless, the great and brilliant success of the mission lay there, and we can understand its depths when reading that the Cardinal " by virtue of his legatine authority had brought together not only the chieftains, but the three kings themselves, and made them listen to his edicts," and . . . accept them eventually. The Western chroniclers, usually so freely drawing on their imagination, are uncommonly reticent about the Breakspeare mission. Little beyond dry facts can we glean from their scrolls. They are all at one, but we can hardly get one glimpse of the real human Breakspeare in all those laudatory pæans. It is true that Martinus Polonus, carried away by a sudden outburst of pious enthusiasm, would exclaim : " he (Breakspeare) truly and diligently instructed that barbaric nation in the Divine Law " (" ipse vero gentem illam barbaram in lege divina diligenter instruxit "), but he does not tell us anything about that " gens barbára " whom Breakspeare grew to love so much. Nor can we see there in their general praises the halo of saintliness with which the Norwegian tradition encircled the legate.

The same Latin tradition speaks of his



A BULL OF ADRIAN IV. DATED 1156

(*Reproduced from the original in the British Museum. Harl. Ch. III. A* 2.)

Facing p. 190.

" preaching the Word of Life and bringing souls unto God," [1] but the words throw no light upon " the changed condition of Norway's great soul." And the one and only Englishman, who might have written a book about it, Matthew of Paris, for all his Norwegian travellings, calmly added nothing to the existing records. True that Matthew's imagination was well known to run riot when he so chose, but nevertheless we should have been grateful even for a highly imaginative picture from one who was Breakspeare's own countryman.

Thus we are compelled to turn to the Northern scripts and read therein all about the legateship, its meaning, its consequences, its later influences on the ever-tumultuous Norwegian thought. To begin with that truly lovable historiographer, Snorri Sturlesson, who tells us that " Before him (Breakspeare) there were only common bishops in Norway " and that " he stands as the first highly-respected foreigner " in the land, and to end with the least known popular legend, we find that the legate is invariably spoken of as " the good cardinal," " the wise one," " the kind one." Time and again are these epithets repeated, till they verily stamp themselves on our mind, and we begin to see Cardinal Nicholas as the mediæval North saw him.[2]

[1] Duchesne, *Liber Pont.*, II, 450.

[2] Among others—Fageskinna, c. 260, s. 171, and Torfaeus's references to the tradition of " scriptores " of Norway.

If we are to go still further, we would find that this tradition remained unchanged even with the changed principles of the reformation. The Church in Norway broke away from Catholic unity, the very word Catholic came to stand for contempt and derision, the knowledge of Catholic doctrines and practices vanished away from national horizons, but in the dimmed light of more than three centuries, stands the first papal legate, and unchangingly do they love his memory, even though some of them may vow undying hatred of his successors. For they cannot forget that he had once loved their country and spent himself in its troubles. A few of those later historians do indeed pass scathing criticisms on his reforms, but even they find no irreverent words for his memory, whilst the majority prefer to repeat the now no more audible tribute of their mediæval scribes.

Thus, in the seventeenth century, Torfaeus [1] actually follows in the steps of Snorri, when he says that the Cardinal " was a man full of piety " and that " no one had possessed such authority in Norway unto his day," [2] and, further, Torfaeus holds that Breakspeare was the first " to lead Norway out of paganism (ex gentilitate ?) into

[1] *Hist. Rev. Norw.*, vol. III., lib. 9, cap. XII, Ed. 1711.

[2] *Ibid.* "Nemo peregrinorum . . . auctoritatem in Norwegia pollebat ut edicto suo audientes proceres . . . pariter ac universam plebem, haberet . . . exemplo a Regibus, qui se fastigio eius quodam modo submisisse, admissa censura videbantur accepto."

the Roman fold." One is rather tempted to misunderstand him and take the word "gentilitas" in its other sense, for surely Torfaeus could not have been ignorant of the pre-Breakspearian Christianity in the North. Doubtless, Torfaeus merely wished to be conservative, thus following the general tradition—to us utterly baseless—that Breakspeare had actually converted the North.

Other Protestant writers were equally enthusiastic about Breakspeare. Bishop Bang, speaking of the legate in his *Udsigt over den Norske Kirkes Historien under Katholicismen*, remarks that Breakspeare can be reckoned as the first "who strengthened the ecclesiastical order" in Norway.

The only really unkind characteristic of Adrian is to be found in the writings of Münter, who calls him "ein stolzer und herrschsüchtiger Prälat," which statement is rather badly supported by the historians. And Münter lets his prejudices get the better of him when he caustically says that "the Norwegians were so thankful, having obtained the long-desired metropolitan that they gave Breakspeare permission to continue his reforms," but, if we remember, the erection of the metropolitan see was *not* Breakspeare's first act in Norway, and obviously he brought peace into the country without asking for a national "permission" to do so. Münter's record is furthermore interesting by a remarkable *raison*

d'être he gives to the legateship. It was planned and carried out, he says, in order "um die Fülle der Apostolischen Gewalt in Ausstersten Norden zeigen zu können." Even were this the sole object of the mission, it would have been quite legitimate . . . canonically, since the mediæval North was Catholic.

Yet even the hostile Münter could not dispute the fact that "the Cardinal had won all hearts unto him," though he tried to prove that the legate's popularity was entirely due to his English descent. Had he been a Frenchman or an Italian, the North would have rejected him!

Finally, the last touching tribute to Breakspeare's memory ("Brevi superstes Papa in sanctis iam numeratur") was again rudely attacked by Münter,[1] who although quoting Snorri on this point, argues that he "did not know that the Norwegian Church had ever honoured him (Breakspeare) as a saint,[2] but this bald statement hardly succeeds in shattering the mass of other evidence "about Breakspeare's acknowledged saintliness."[3]

But Münter stands isolated in his unkind judgments of Breakspeare. Munch, another great authority,[4] thinks fit to give the following apprecia-

[1] *Hist.*, II.

[2] *Ibid.* "Ich weiss iedoch nicht dass ihm von der norwegischen Kirche ie religiöse Verehrung wäre bewiesen worden."

[3] Doubtless Münter wants to stress the purely legal point in this matter, since the Church never raised Breakspeare to her altars.

[4] *Hist.*, II., 865.

tion of the legate: "(he was) talentfuld, Kundskabrig og statsklog" and his heart was big and warm, "because he had loved Inge (the young King) as his own son." "In the chronicles his name went down as that of a kind and wise Cardinal."

As to his saintliness, even Suhm, who found hardly one good word for the Catholic Church says: "De Norske holdte ham [*i.e.*, Breakspeare] derfor ('therefore'—meaning—for all that he had done in Norway) ogsaa for hellig efter hans Dod" (held him as a saint after his death.)[1]

Great indeed must have been the personality of him who thus succeeded in winning the love of a whole nation. And for us it should not be difficult to understand why Breakspeare is thus lovingly traditioned.

He had spent himself in working for them, and this for no other reason—except for his love of God's will.

Throughout his life he had followed it. When he was young it led him out of England, and in spite of his great love for his country, he went to France. His heart was one big yearning for the cloistered silence, but God's will bade him leave St Rufus's, and he went out into the world, however deeply his natural self may have regretted the change. Finally, God's will beckoned him on

[1] Suhm, *Hist. af Denmark*, VI, 137.

to the dangerous travellings, to a mission the very hardships of which were "innumerable," and bravely he started on that journey, cheerfully accepting every hardship and every difficulty of the task to which he knew God was calling him. Thus utterly self-emptied, he reached Norway. And the North had then already stepped into the wonderful awareness of Christian sacrifice. It was not slow to sense the depths of Breakspeare's own sacrificing, to understand that he who had so closely communed with God was coming to help them all to get nearer to Him. Herein lay the keynote of all his success. For the Northmen, who may have been absolutely ignorant of St Augustine's influence, of the Western yearnings after God, were nevertheless most profoundly spiritual. Theirs was a peculiar, very dimly coloured dream of a city of God. Peace was its quintessence. Peace, which at home was almost unattainable. The first message fallen from the Cardinal's lips was that of peace.

Again—he came to them as no stranger. Their tongue was no sealed book to him, their common life—no mystery, their very troubles became almost instantaneously his closest concern. For as their own father and friend he came "and lived amongst" them, and as such he remained until his death.

Surely it is no small thing to be grateful for—that Breakspeare went down in the Norwegian

history as "their good and wise Cardinal." And thus do we take farewell of him—not at his tomb in St Peter's—so dear to the mediæval North—but rather in the world of undying and grateful memories, best recorded in the few words of Torfaeus: "Our writers number him with the saints." [1]

[1] "Scriptores nostri eum inter Sanctos numerant."

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